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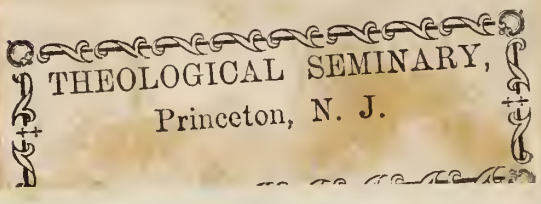

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THE

WORKS,

THEOLOGICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS,

Including some pieces not before printed,

OF

FRANCIS BLACKBURNE, M.A.

LATE RECTOR OF RICHMOND,

AND ARCHDEACON OF CLEVELAND;

With some account

OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF THE AUTHOR, BY HIMSELF,

COMPLETED BY HIS SON

FRANCIS BLACKBURNE, L.L.B.

And illustrated by an Appendix of Original Papers.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

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REMARKS

ON THE

Rev. Dr. POWELL's SERMON

IN DEFENCE OF

SUBSCRIPTIONS,

Preached before the

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

ON THE

COMMENCEMENT SUNDAY, 1757;

Wherein

The LATITUDE said to be allowed to Subscribers to the Liturgy and Articles of the church of England, is particularly considered.

WITH A

DEDICATION to the younger Students in both our Universities, who are designed for the ministry of the church.

[FIRST PUBLISHED, M DCC LVIII.]

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE excellent *letter to the Rev. Dr.* POWELL, did not fall into the hands of the Author of these *Remarks*, till his papers were gone to the press. This was so far his misfortune, as so much of (perhaps all) his pains might otherwise have been spared. Great, however, is his pleasure in finding so many of his sentiments on this subject, in perfect agreement with those of so able and judicious a writer.

TO THE

YOUNGER STUDENTS

IN BOTH OUR UNIVERSITIES,

Who are educated with a view to their ministring in the church of ENGLAND.

GENTLEMEN,

THESE REMARKS were not undertaken without a particular eye to *your* edification, and are now dedicated to your service. The question proposed to be illustrated by them is no abstruse point of casuistry, but a plain question of fact, which being fairly stated, may be understood by every one of you, who has laid a competent foundation for his theological studies in practical ethics, and can judge of the force of that evidence which the common sense of mankind accepts as decisive, in the most obvious and familiar occurrences of human life.

Among other valuable discoveries for which we are indebted to the liberty of enquiring into the merit of many popular doctrines of religion, the hardship of subscribing to human systems and articles of faith has been made so evident, that the tempers and sentiments of some leading prelates of our church, seeming

to fall in with the general sense of all wise and good men upon the subject, some very sanguine hopes were entertained not many years ago by many conscientious clergymen, that the hour was certainly come when they should be relieved from the anxieties they had undergone in complying with such tests of that kind as the law had imposed upon them.*

That such relief is really wanted, even they cannot deny who oppose the introduction of it. The want of it is indeed plainly confessed by all such defenders of subscriptions as the preacher before us. If he and his fellows were not grievously galled with the yoke, what occasion to plead for a latitude which would defeat every rational purpose for which subscriptions can be supposed to be required?

But whatever it was that raised or encouraged these expectations at the first; or whatever it was that disappointed them in the end, they are now no more.† All relief under this

* The great number of sensible and pathetic remonstrances on the subject of an ecclesiastical reformation, addressed to our spiritual governors, and particularly to the late archbishop Herring, is a sufficient proof of what is here advanced. 'Tis true no sort of public notice was taken of these rescripts. But this only proves that the authors of them, and their friends, were mistaken in their expectations; while the rescripts themselves abundantly testify that such expectations there were, whatever occasion was given for them. What a glorious addition would it have been to the elogies bestowed on the abovementioned prelate in our public prints, could it have been said, either that he used his utmost endeavours to have these difficulties removed, or that he took care to convince the world that the removal of them could not reasonably be desired.

† The death-stroke to these expectations is said to have been given in the year 1754; when, according to our periodical registers of public news, it was determined in convocation, that THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND HATH NO EQUAL. Our sober ancestors used to

as well as other difficulties, is probably at a great distance. And the duty and respect we owe to those who only have it in their power to give it, oblige us to believe, that the reasons why it is deferred, are of the most cogent nature.

But, gentlemen, far be it from you or from me to imagine, that these reasons are such as are given in this sermon for the continuance of subscriptions.

It is the custom of some political writers to treat all particular forms and modes of religion as matters of insignificance; and to speak of all debates upon such subjects with great contempt. And indeed, when they descend to particulars, it must be owned, that the subject-matter of many of these debates is frivolous enough, when compared with the weightier matters of the law. I must however beg leave to except out of this concession, every thing upon which the written word of God has laid any visible stress. All such things must be of importance, whatever the wisdom of the world may think of them.

But the case we have now under consideration, is, in no view, of the insignificant class. Whether some of the forms or ceremonies of religion are or are not useful, edifying, expe-

qualify such commendations as this, with the words [*upon earth*] or something equivalent to them. By such a limitation they left a liberty to hope that the church of England might at some future time be still farther advanced above all other earthly churches, by acquiring a farther degree of improvement. But surely it would be the vainest of all imaginations to think of making improvements in the constitution of *any* church which *absolutely* hath *no equal*.

dient, &c. may be questions of small moment, in comparison of the public repose, which ought not therefore to be disturbed by any importunate altercations upon them. But whether a set of men who are appointed by public authority to be teachers of religion, may put their own different and inconsistent senses on a precise form of words, prescribed by the same authority for a test of their opinions, or whether these men may disguise or conceal their real meaning, and give a solemn assent by the subscription of their names, to what in reality they do not believe?—are questions which no sound politician would determine in the affirmative. Because whatever such teachers may advance afterwards, by way of inforcing the duties of sincerity and singleness of heart upon the people committed to their care, will be of little consequence, when their own conduct comes to be known. The people will certainly think themselves sufficiently justified by this leading example, to take the same liberty both in their private and public covenants, as far as they may with impunity. And then, farewell to that good faith between man and man, so necessary for the peace and welfare of every community, in ten thousand instances, which the strictest execution of the best human laws in the world will never be able to reach.

This, as I take it, is the natural effect of admitting such a latitude in subscriptions, as is contended for in this sermon; and to such a latitude, for that reason, I am firmly persuaded, our governors either in the church or the state,

will not give their countenance, and much less their sanction.

But, gentlemen, whatever reason our superiors may have for still insisting on these subscriptions, it is certainly every honest man's business of whom such a test is required, to consider for himself, and that very seriously, how far he may conscientiously comply with it. Examples and precedents of what has been done, let them be taken from the most respectable personages or characters upon earth, will avail nothing, where a man's own sincerity is at stake. And such examples will avail you and others at this time, much less than they would have done some years ago. The case of subscription has been so plainly stated, and so fully discussed, and the merits of the dispute brought within so narrow a compass in some late controversies, that I will venture to say, there is not one of you, but, by the time he is qualified to take his first degree, may, with a very little interruption to his other studies, get all the information he can be supposed to want, what his duty to God, or his obligations as a disciple of Christ, permit him to do, or require him to forbear in this behalf.

The defender of subscriptions now before us, thinks it sufficient for you to give your assent *on the authority of others.* Little should I have expected to have met with such a dispensation from an eminent tutor in a protestant university. Pray, gentlemen, what are your own sentiments of this matter? What are those of your parents, guardians, or patrons, who send you to Oxford or Cambridge?

Was it not their design, that before you took orders, you should be qualified by the instruction of able and learned teachers, to judge for yourselves of the truth and solidity of all religious doctrines?

How different an idea of your abilities have the most reverend and right reverend prelates of our church? A great majority of you offer yourselves for orders as soon as may be, after your first degree is conferred. And then, if I am not misinformed, one of the usual methods of probation is, to give you a subject taken from some of the articles, upon which you are required to express your sentiments in writing. On these occasions, I suppose, the choice of the subject is not left to the candidate. A very plain argument that their lordships conclude you must have studied all the articles, and are come to sufficient maturity to understand their contents.

But though I would not absolutely conclude so much myself, yet I cannot but ascribe so much more to your capacity for judging and reasoning on this case of subscription, than Dr. Powell has done, as to exhort you with great earnestness, to subscribe or assent to nothing on the *mere authority of others.* Many of those who have gone through this discipline already, find great reason to regret, that they had no faithful monitors to apprize them of the consequences they now too sensibly see and feel. This is not *your* misfortune. You are, or you easily may be sufficiently warned of them by a great variety of documents, which are neither too expensive for you to purchase,

nor too difficult for you to understand. And if nothing of this kind will prevail upon you to examine into the nature and conditions of such an engagement, before you enter into it, remember at least, that you must be responsible for this extraordinary conduct, when and where a more solemn account of it will be required, than you are obliged to give to any human being whatever.

To be ingenuous with you, I apprehend that such of you as have the best capacities of understanding, and the deepest impressions of religion upon your minds, will upon a serious and impartial examination of this important case, find the greatest reluctance in yourselves to comply with these terms of ministerial conformity. At the same time, such of you are, of all others, the best qualified to promote the true interests of religion, or in other words, to do the most substantial service to the community as teachers of religion.

And therefore, as all other methods of relief have failed, and all other practicable applications for it are become vain and hopeless; if such of you as cannot satisfy yourselves of the scriptural rectitude of the conditions required for admission into the church, should declare for some other profession, while you have time to look before you, and give this want of satisfaction for the reason of such declaration; I am persuaded our superiors would not be inattentive to the effect such a loss would have upon the church; and might very probably be prevailed with by that consideration, to provide a remedy for it; that very remedy which

so many good men have been so long pleading and sighing for in vain.*

And now, as I have allowed you to be very competent judges of the case I am proposing to you, I may well expect you will begin to talk to me of the absurdity of putting the labouring oar upon you, who are by no means sufficiently seasoned either by learning, experience, or habits of moral discipline, to make a stand against so many orthodox veterans, as would infallibly oppose the whole weight of their zeal and prejudice to the unstable and flexible spirits of bashful and timorous youth.

You will naturally say, "why should not "men of more maturity and deeper reflection, "who are groaning under these embarrass-"ments, first endeavour to clear the way both "for themselves and us, by uniting in a com-"mon petition to the legislature; and, upon "the failure of such application bravely set us "an example of self-denial, chearfully resign

* I must confess, that, at the first glance, appearances are against us. The proverb says, *if one will not, another will.* There are gentlemen who make no difficulty of undertaking each of them the duty of three, four, five or six important offices in the church, *in cases of need.* And the number of candidates on all vacancies, seems to promise, that the church will be well supplied with these choice spirits for many generations to come. Undoubtedly the talents and capacities of these worthies are of the first magnitude. But it should be considered, that the most exalted genius, joined to the nimblest activity of body, will not inable one and the same man to operate, or even exist, in two places at once. Even these great men must have their drudges and substitutes. And if this infection of scruples should get among the herd, what might be the consequence? What indignity to the church to see the pompous dean of a cathedral, or the venerable head of a college, riding post to his country living, to bury the corps of a wretched cobler.

" their preferments, and thereby bear a testi-
" mony to truth and liberty, becoming chris-
" tian professors."

To this I own I can but give a sort of conjectural answer, made up of such presumptive conclusions as I have drawn from different accounts, given by particular clergymen of their own circumstances, and their several judgments of this affair.

1. A large majority of the clergy, either really are, or affect to be persuaded, that no alterations in the constitution of our church are at all necessary. At the head of these are some of the most opulent and dignified of the order. Vigorous opposition from these is certain and formidable, and sufficient to intimidate the few in comparison, who are affected with a different sense of their situation. It is true indeed, the reasons for this persuasion, most of those who avow it, have the prudence either to keep to themselves, or to retail only in private conversation. They are probably such reasons as will not bear the light. And they may know of some methods of *keeping things tight* without giving any reasons. In a word, they are such reasons as these of our defender. He alone has ventured to exhibit them in public; and he is so far to be commended. The public may now, we will hope, in time be brought to consider seriously of their weight and worth, and how far such reasons ought to disappoint such an application, as I have supposed you to recommend.

2. The clergy who dissent from this majority, are dispersed and distributed in different

and distant parts of the kingdom, little acquainted with each other, and in no circumstances to unite in a common application. They are, for the most part, men of small preferments, and some of them of large families: men who think their personal care of and attendance upon their respective parishes and departments, the principal end of their ministry, and a leading circumstance in their future account. For the rest, they are men of study, retirement, modesty and moderation, little versed in the intrigues of the world; and who no otherwise know how far their conscientious brethren are like-minded, but by some occasional and nameless publications, which, though they fall in with their own private sentiments, give them no satisfaction how much farther the authors of them would go than bearing their testimony from the press; or indeed where to find the authors themselves.

3. Many of these worthy persons have been reminded by their orthodox brethren, of a fulminating canon (the 73d in our present collection) which "ordains and constitutes, that "no priests or ministers of the word of God, "nor any other persons, shall meet together "in any private house or elsewhere, to con- "sult upon any matter or course to be taken "by them, or upon their motion or direction, "by any other, which may any way tend "to the impeaching or depraving of the doc- "trine of the church of England, or of the "book of common prayer, or of any part of "the government and discipline now establish- "ed in the church of England, under pain of

" excommunication *ipso facto.*" How difficult it would be to assemble a number of men, considerable enough to give weight to a petition to the legislature for reformation, while this rod of correction is thus stuck up in their view, time, and a little more acquaintance with the world, will convince you. So far indeed as this canon relates to other persons, not of the clergy, there is little reason to stand in awe of its operation. They however who have taken out the canonical sting with respect to the laity, have done it by such arguments, as leave it in its full force of authority and animadversion upon the clergy. And though we are used to hear large and florid encomiums on the moderation of churchmen in the present age, yet—I know not how—whenever I find an orthodox brother propping up a tottering argument by citing *a canon,* I cannot forbear suspecting, he would execute that canon upon me, if he was not restrained by something which is not of an ecclesiastical complexion.

Thus much by way of surmise, why the scrupulous clergy have not hitherto sought for relief by a public and formal application to the legislature.

" But why, being thus precluded from " seeking relief in a legal way, do they not " resign their preferments, since they are no " longer in a condition to fulfil their covenant " with the church ?"

To this question, it would be still harder to give an answer, by which all of them would be willing to abide. No body indeed has a right to ask them such a question, excepting those

who are not yet come under the same obligations. Their orthodox brethren who are so very forward to interrogate them on this head, are just as much bound to give the public this satisfaction on their own account; and would probably find themselves equally perplexed and embarrassed in the attempt.* Dr. Powell has offered as much at least for them all, as any one of them can say for himself. And if the sound and staunch sons of the church have no better pleas than these, the church has the very same hold of *them*, that they think they have of their weaker brethren. Subscription is a test of opinions to both, or to neither. And when it ceases to answer the purposes of a test, as upon the Doctor's principles it manifestly does, the church has no better security from a *dean*, than from a *disquisitor*; and has just as much reason to demand back her preferments from the one, as from the other.

But, gentlemen, the question, when it comes from *you* demands a more determinate answer. This recrimination will not affect *you*; not even such of you, as may have subscribed at the time of your matriculation. That subscription does not belong to your account, but to theirs under whose influence and direction you were obliged to make it. You have therefore a right to all the information that can be given you on this subject. And what follows, is the substance of what I have been able

* See a sensible and spirited pamphlet intitled, *A plain and proper answer to this question*, why does not the bishop of Clogher, supposing him to be author of the *Essay on Spirit*, resign his preferments? Printed for Shuckburgh, 1753.

to gather, from the different accounts which particular persons have given of themselves in this situation.

1. Most of the thinking men among the Clergy, who are of any considerable standing, very probably fall within the account that a learned prelate, lately deceased, has left us of himself. " They find they do not now agree " exactly in sentiment, either with their own " former opinions, or with the persons who " drew up the articles of our religion, or with " the compilers of our liturgy."*

But, says the author of a stupid, malevolent pamphlet, " had you not time to consider " these things before you took holy orders?"†

The good bishop (upon whose grave every lover of truth and liberty will drop a friendly tear) had the good nature, and the good manners, to give an answer, even to this cross-grained nonsense.

" Gentlemen, says his lordship, are gene- " rally ordained priests, when they are twenty- " four or twenty-five years of age. And is " this an age for any person of a profession to " have his mind made up, and never to at- " tempt the improvement of it afterwards? " Is theology a science of so easy acquisition, " as to be throughly mastered at that time of " life?"‡

Certainly not. And therefore what won-

* Dedication to the *Essay on Spirit*, p. iv. London, 1751.

† Genuine sequel to the *Essay on Spirit*.

‡ *Some thoughts on self-love, innate ideas, &c.* Lond. for Cooper and Baldwin, 1753. p. ult.

der, if a man who subscribes to the articles with the fullest and firmest assent when he takes orders, should after ten or twenty years, abate of his faith, upon finding a more probable account of some points of doctrine elsewhere.

But however this apology, reasonable and just as it is, should not be stretched farther to vindicate young and unwary subscribers, than it will naturally reach: it is not necessary to the understanding the hardship of subscriptions, that a man should be a through-paced theologue. And the true case of a large majority perhaps, is, not that they wanted *time*, but *means* and *opportunity* to inform themselves in this matter, before they were ordained. The strong objections to our present system, were not stirring in the days of their probation. There were none about them to point out to them the books where such objections had been urged and supported heretofore. Orthodoxy was all in all with their teachers. They had heard of none who made any objections, but dissenters; and these, as well as their writings, they were taught to hold in the utmost contempt. Nor was it till late in life, and perhaps by mere accident, that some of them got quit of these prejudices at all.

"Well, but they have at last got quit of "them, and why should they still remain in "the pale of the church?"—To this it may be answered.

2. That many of them, too probably, avail themselves of our defender's quibble of assenting to the *use*, not the *truth* of the Liturgy;

to which indeed the worthy prelate above cited hath in some degree given countenance, though not without fairly laying the true fact before his readers.* With respect to subscription to the articles, many are apt to lay hold of that latitude, asserted by Dr. Clarke, and other defenders of what Dr. Waterland called, Arian subscription ; the same latitude indeed, pleaded for, and adopted by the Rev. Dr. Powell ; but with this difference, that the Doctors Clarke, Sykes, &c. (little satisfied, it should seem, with this expedient, and looking upon it as little better than what Shakespeare calls a *cursed necessity*) never forget to wind up their apologies with some complaints and animadversions on such kind of tests, and warm remonstrances for a review of the particulars to which they relate ; whereas the more modern doctor assigns this latitude as an unanswerable reason why subscriptions in their present form should be continued to our latest posterity.—Whoever they are who betake themselves to these shelters, must not be defended by me.

3. There are some, who, without being explicit as to the particular arguments by which they justify their conformity to themselves, tell us, that they have been induced to continue in the church for some years past, by a sanguine expectation that the liturgy would certainly be reviewed and altered, and subscriptions put upon a more reasonable footing.†

* Dedication to the *Essay*, &c. pag. xii, xiii, e. q. s.

† See—A Sermon preached to a large congregation in the country on old Chriſtmas-day, 1753.

These expectations seem to have commenced, when the two metropolitical sees were filled with two gentlemen of very different sentiments, as was supposed, from those of some of their predecessors. They were esteemed to be eminent patrons of liberty and moderation, and many persons made no doubt, but under their auspicious influence, all proper regard would be paid to the reasonable and dutiful remonstrances on the subject of conformity, of all his majesty's protestant subjects in whatever circumstances.

Expectations of this kind are readily propagated, and eagerly embraced by every one who is uneasy under his present bonds. And they who consider what has, or rather what has not been done during this interval, will be very likely to make it a problem, whether these dissatisfied men are sufficiently justified by appearances, in their long and patient acquiescence. Time, which brings to light many hidden mysteries, may however produce some reasons, why they should not be too crudely condemned. But,

4. There are among these some who think, that, with respect to their ministerial calling, there is an obligation upon them to the supreme Lord of the harvest, prior to all stipulations with any particular church. They consider themselves as called to, and placed in, their several stations by the providence of God. They were admitted to those stations, without any consciousness on their part, of any thing wrong in the conditions required of them, and with the sincerest intentions of fulfilling

their ministry according to the gospel of Christ. Since they have found their mistake, they think their christian liberty allows them to act accordingly, and so likewise does the church, if she is consistent with herself. They therefore comply with the church's forms where they can, and where they cannot, they deviate from them. This they do without disguise, and are ready to give a reason for their conduct to all who have a right to demand it. And if their own people have any objections to them or their ministry on this account, the law is open, and they may implead such pastors before their respective diocesans. And should their lordships disallow of the practice, these ministers are ready to submit, and to retire without the trouble of a formal process.* But they can

* See the Preface to Dr. Burrow's *Essay upon Divine Providence*, p. 16. "If the most reverend prelate, says this gentleman, "to whose jurisdiction I am subject, shall conceive that I do, in "some points, pelagianize, or whatever else it may be called, more "than can safely be allowed a person beneficed in the church, and "having cure of souls to do, I shall make way for the effects of au- "thority, which are of an odious nature, in a manner least invidi- "ous and troublesome, consistent, I hope, with a good conscience, and "attended with decency on my part; and I hope also, not with too "great severity of reflection on any other.—I must own, that I have "long and passionately sighed after a discharge, such as might not "fix any reproach or dishonour on me, from a function and office, "for which I look upon myself, for other reasons, utterly unfit."— These other reasons were an infirm state of health, a severe gout, which in the end was fatal to this learned man. The most reverend prelate here mentioned was archbishop Blackburne, of whom, if I am not misinformed, the doctor desired leave to resign his living at Darrington. This was not permitted, and his grace is reported to have said on this occasion; "I believe the man does not like us, and wants "to leave us; but I know his worth, and will not part with such men

by no means be prevailed with, voluntarily to disable themselves from doing the little good in their power, of which perhaps no other means are afforded, but in this particular province. They think their covenant with God, as his ministers, precludes them from dismissing themselves from his service. In the mean time, they are contented with their lot, and some of them with very slender provisions in the church, and would not repeat their subscriptions to gain the whole world.

But whatever conception scrupulous clergymen may have of their own situation and circumstances, the case of many of them is sufficiently hard to demand great allowances from the candid and charitable hearts of other men. Many of them discover not the truth of the

" for small matters."—Dr. Burrow was indeed in all respects a worthy man, and it gives me pleasure to have an opportunity of paying even this insignificant tribute to the memory of one who deserved to be more generally known and distinguished, than his confinement and his modesty would admit of. No body knew mankind better than the sagacious prelate abovementioned, and his determination of this case deserves the highest applause. Probably it did not, and will not meet with it from men of narrower spirits. Be this as it will, the case itself is remarkable, and may serve to convince candid and generous minds that this affair of resigning is attended with more difficulties than may at first sight be apprehended. If you keep both your scruples and your preferment, you are immediately insulted with the question, *why do you not resign ?* If you modestly propose your objections to the public, in hope of having them satisfied one way or other, some magisterial zealot admonishes you, *not to affront the establishment that maintains you.* If, lastly, you resign your preferments, there is, you see, a severity of reflection to be dreaded from another quarter, a reproach and dishonour, which as it proceeds from more impartial and more considerate censors, than interested churchmen, is much harder to be digested by ingenuous spirits, than these crude and illiberal expostulations from the latter.

case, till it is too late to turn themselves to other employments; and without some employment they must want bread for themselves, and perhaps a large family.*

Some gentlemen, indeed, of their own order, have, (with great benevolence no doubt) recommended it to them to go over to the dissenters. But who knows whether they might not find as much to disgust them there, as in the established church? Whatever Dr. Powell may think of these *friends of freedom*, there are among them, men of no less candour or penetration than himself, who in making their objections to our established forms, pay as little deference to the mere prejudices of dissenters, as he himself does. Confessing, nevertheless, that where these prejudices (if so they must be called) seem to have been instilled, and appear, even to this hour, to be warranted by the written word, not only the liturgy and articles, but even matters of more moment, ought to be accommodated to them.

The conclusion of the whole matter, gentlemen, is this. You are yet under none of these hard necessities. If upon examining into the nature of the case here proposed to your consideration, you should find yourself excluded from *the paradise* of ecclesiastical preferments,

The world is all before you, where to chuse
Your place of rest; and providence your guide.

And I cannot but think it a lucky circumstance, with respect to the probable event of

* See a pamphlet intituled, *The Church of England tryed by herself.* Printed for Noon, 1756. p. 26-27.

such an examination as I am here recommending, that the sort of learning called mathematical, should, at this particular juncture, be cherished and cultivated, in one of our universities especially, with that zeal and eagerness, as to become the indispensable groundwork for a tolerable proficiency in all your other studies; if indeed it is not esteemed to be the marrow and quintessence of all other studies itself.—A science, which, besides its known reputation for fortifying the human mind against all invincible prejudices in religious matters, seems to be calculated for your success in military, naval, mercantile, and mechanical employments, in short, in almost any profession or occupation under the sun, rather than the clerical.

But however this circumstance may be estimated by others, who know more of the matter than I can pretend to do, you are now timely apprized of your situation. You have the opportunity of a free and convenient intercourse with each other. You may receive great light and assistance, by frequent and friendly debates and conferences upon this important subject, among yourselves; and the sensible and conscientious part of you, great encouragement to *hold fast your integrity:* which, after all, is the personal concern of every one of you, in view of the common obligation you have to the *lord of the vineyard* into which you are called, whatever station may be assigned you in it.

And may *he* give his blessing to all your sincere inquiries and honest endeavours in the search of truth; strengthen your hearts to

abide by it, when it is found; direct your steps in the ways of piety and peace, in whatever province your lot may fall; and crown all your labours with everlasting bliss in the world to come.

I am, GENTLEMEN,
most sincerely, your Wellwisher,
and humble Servant in Christ,
THE AUTHOR.

REMARKS, &c.

A DEFENDER of the subscriptions required in any protestant church obliges himself by the nature of his undertaking to prove, either that the particulars, to which the subscription is required, are in plain and perfect agreement with the written word of God; or that there is a sufficient scriptural authority vested in the church to require such subscriptions, although the agreement abovementioned cannot be clearly made out to the satisfaction of the subscriber.

Some of our most eminent divines have employed their pens in support of both these propositions, with much learning and subtlety of argument; but, as very candid and competent judges of such matters have freely acknowledged, with no great success. For having adopted different schemes of reconciling the constitution of the church with the christian scriptures, they have plainly contradicted each other; and what is worse, are very often inconsistent with themselves.

We seem therefore of late to rest the whole affair of *declaring* and *subscribing* upon the *secular utility* of such kind of tests in established churches, according to an ingenious plan, devised by a divine of some note still

living; in which the advocates for such matters seem to have so perfectly acquiesced, that we have heard very little for some time of any new productions on this interesting subject; except from some "honest, but mistaken men," who think it is for the honour of every protestant church, that nothing should be found in her constitution but what is fairly defensible upon the original principles of her reformation from popery.

But forasmuch as these honest men seem rather to be mistaken in the application, than in the contexture of their arguments, it is well understood, that no satisfactory answer can be given to them without discussing over again the two propositions abovementioned; and what have the learned pens of Burnet, Bull, Nichols, Bennet, Waterland, Stebbing, Conybeare, &c. &c. &c. left to be said in this controversy, which is either new or important?

It is probably for some such reason as this, that several Tracts under the titles of *Free and candid Disquisitions*, *Appeals to reason*, *candor*, *common sense*, &c. have been patiently suffered to take their course, and to make what impressions they might upon the public, either without any replies at all, or replies from such hands, and in such strains, as neither had, nor deserved to have the countenance of any one public character in the kingdom.

And indeed, as matters are now circumstanced among us, the counsel of prudence seems to be not to answer one word to these pretended reformers. Whatever temporary effect the facts and reasonings they deal in may have

upon young, ingenuous, and unbiassed minds, there is a time of life, which cometh upon all those who are educated for the church, when they will plainly perceive they must either conform, or lose all the fruit of their studies and expences. And who is so little acquainted with human nature as not to know, how forcibly considerations of this kind counteract any common scruples, in a large majority of those who might otherwise be disposed to entertain them? And as for the million, who are not apt to be disquieted with qualms of this sort, an habitual veneration for what they have heard so often called *the best constituted church on earth*, reconciles them to the whole system at once, without any suspicion of the least defect in any part of it.

Nor have the fruits of this taciturnity at all disappointed the wisdom and policy which projected it. The *Disquisitors* have subsided into obscurity and oblivion; the church keeps her ground, and is sure never to want a sufficient supply of learned and able men to answer all her occasions upon her own terms.

And now in the midst of this repose and tranquillity, steps forth the zealous Dr. Powell, once more to blow the trumpet of defiance in the ears of all dissatisfied dissenters from our establishment; to the great surprize, as I have been informed, of some of the church's warmest friends, who cannot find out the propriety of reviving on her part a controversy, in which she has seldom gathered any laurels, and which for that reason had been so prudently laid asleep.

The Doctor has, it is true, gone a good deal out of the common road; so far indeed that his sermon has but little affinity with what is promised in the title of it. The title, as I said before, breathes nothing but defiance; but upon a nearer view of the champion and his weapons, you find him all lenity and indulgence, and disposed to compromise matters by such extraordinary concessions on the part of the church, that one cannot help suspecting he must have exceeded the bounds of his commission, supposing him to have had any.

In one respect indeed the Doctor is highly intituled to the thanks of all those who have in any degree disapproved of these subscriptions in the church of England, inasmuch as he has done something towards explaining an argument in behalf of them, which, though frequently made use of in common conversation, has always appeared to have something of a mystery in it.

Much has been said of late years by the advocates for the church (whether with or without authority, I presume not to determine) concerning the moderation and indulgence of our present worthy prelates in taking the subscriptions of their clergy. From whence it is inferred, that the usual objections and scruples about conformity are much more unreasonable now than they were in the days of our forefathers.

"But how, says the man of scruples, am I to understand this? Has any clergyman lately been dispensed with from subscribing at all? No, not even some who have offered to stand

the peril of the law against any who should question their title to their preferments without such subscription.* Has any clergyman for the last fifty years been permitted, in subscribing his *assent* and *consent* to the xxxix articles, to vary the form? No, not one. And yet this *was* permitted even in the days of Archbishop Laud, if we may trust those extracts from the subscription-book of Sarum, exhibited by Mr. Dezmaizeaux in his Life of Chillingworth.† Every one now is required to subscribe his *assent* and *consent* to these articles in one invariable form of words, supposed indeed to be prescribed by a Canon, but a Canon which was as much in force in the days of Chillingworth as at this present minute."

True, say these gentlemen, but is it no advantage, no favour, that whereas the bishops of yore used to be a little inquisitive in what sense the candidate subscribed, our present governors content themselves with saying, "satisfy yourselves, and you satisfy us."

"A very great favour indeed, says the scrupulous candidate, that I should be permitted to prevaricate at my own peril! The bishop wants no satisfaction but the bare act of subscribing to a certain form of words. His lordship well knows the law will put its own construction upon the act so circumstanced (if there should be occasion to have recourse to his books) without taking the least notice of any construction I may put upon it for my own

* See Whiston's Memoirs of Dr. S. Clarke, page 89, 90.
† Page 266, 267.

private satisfaction. And how can I satisfy myself in giving a security to the church in one sense, which I know will be taken in another? Not to mention that when things were at the worst, a man might probably contrive answers to satisfy the most inquisitive examiner with as much ease as he can now find salvos to satisfy himself."

This is the difficulty which these "honest, but mistaken men" cannot get over; and under which the utmost lenity and indulgence of our ecclesiastical governors, as things are now established, can afford them no relief. But it seems Dr. P. can; and to this end has undertaken this *labour of love* now under our consideration; in which he has succeeded so much to his own satisfaction, as to be "greatly surprized that any who call themselves our "friends, and the friends of freedom, should "propose to alter the liturgy and articles, and "accommodate them to the prejudices of dissenters."

But why so greatly surprized? Every remedy must have time to operate before you can judge of its effects. The world has not hitherto been apprized of these ingenious solutions exhibited in this defence. And I am persuaded, that, if the Dr. would give himself the trouble to look back into the state of this controversy in its several stages, from its first rise to the present time, he will have the pleasure to discover that he is the first who ever thought of treating it in the manner he has done.

Indeed I am apt to suspect that for want of this information the Doctor may have mistaken

the nature and force of the objections against which he hath opposed this defence. And therefore, if now after he has tried this new experiment, it should make no deeper impressions upon his "honest but mistaken friends" than some others before it have done, few perhaps will be greatly surprized at it besides himself.

Let us proceed then to take a particular view of this elaborate performance; at the head of which stands part of a sentence taken from St. Paul, 1 *Cor.* 1. 10. *Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of the Lord Jesus, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you.*

On these words the Doctor thus comments: "It is usually of more importance to the peace "and happiness of a community that its mem- "bers should speak than think alike." And the words of the text with this interpretation upon them are offered as a specimen of "St. "Paul's wisdom in guarding his converts "against those mischiefs which frequently "arise from frivolous and *unmeaning* divisions."

And without doubt a very wise expedient it is with respect to divisions which have *no meaning*. In such divisions judgment and opinion have no place. And all differences among the parties so divided will be happily and completely reconciled, by bringing them to speak alike, whether they think alike, or indeed whether they think at all or not.

But was this the case in the church at Corinth, or did St. Paul believe it to be the case? So the Doctor would insinuate, even though

this 10th verse is closed with these express words,—*And that ye be perfectly united in the same mind, and in the same judgment:* by which it appears that the Apostle understood these divisions among the Corinthians to have some meaning; and likewise that to think alike was equally of importance to the peace and happiness of their community as to speak alike.

Whether the Doctor may justly be suspected of dropping this last clause of the verse, to serve a present turn, I presume not to determine. In matters of controversy, some men's bibles, if one may judge by the use they make of them, have no more in them than is just necessary for the present distress. But indeed, if the clause in question were utterly expunged from the place it occupies, it is impossible that St. Paul, who talks so much in other places of the indispensible importance of *simplicity* and *godly sincerity;* of christians *not lying* one to another, BECAUSE they are *members of a community*, &c. should ever be made to own the sentiments which the Doctor here endeavours to fix upon him.

The Doctor's maxim being thus stripped of its pretences to apostolical authority, we may with the less presumption inquire into the merit of it upon its own bottom.

"It is of more importance, says the Doctor, "to the peace and happiness of a community, "that its members should speak than think "alike."

Perhaps it may, to the peace and happiness of a community of hungry expectants at court: but would any one believe that the Doctor is

here speaking of a religious, and what is more, of a christian community? Yet this is really the fact, and here follows the reason he offers in support of his paradox.

"For they who have learned to confess their "faith in the same form, will consider each "other as friends, even though they should "disagree not a little in their explanations of "it: while such as have been accustomed to "different expressions, can seldom be con- "vinced that their opinions are the same."

The Doctor I suppose will allow, that these disagreeing explanations must be expressed, if it is only for the sake of finding out that the explainers disagree at all. If they *are* expressed, they must be *differently* expressed. And it should seem to have required some of the Doctor's pains to shew how different expressions tend to reconcile men to each other's opinions, in one of these cases rather than the other. The histories we have of every part of the known world, demonstrate that this friendship in different explanations, is not the natural effect of men's "learning to confess their faith in the same form." How such *confessors* will consider each other hereafter, when the Doctor's system comes to be universally received and authenticated, time only can discover. What we know for certain is, that multitudes of them not only consider, but actually treat each other as the bitterest enemies: and what is extremely unlucky for the Doctor's hypothesis, no community upon earth in proportion to its extent, hath furnished more

examples of this, than the very church he is defending.

"For these reasons, the Doctor informs us, "the wisest and best friends of our religious "establishment, have long wished that all pro- "testants in this kingdom could be united by "a consent to the same liturgy and the same "articles of faith."

But if for *these* reasons, why will not all papists as well as all protestants? Upon the Doctor's plan of peace and happiness, mental reserves, and other accommodating methods of equivocation, can have but few bad effects upon the community. If men speak alike, it is of the less importance what they think. And there is one consideration, which ought to extend the wishes of these good and wise friends to the papists in a more particular manner; and that is, that they have been, and are still like to be sufficiently troublesome to the community, and that too from this very circumstance "of confessing their faith in a different form."

For my own part, as the Doctor produces no authentic commission from these best and wisest friends of our establishment, to be their prolocutor, I should have been as well pleased to have seen their own reasons for their own wishes. Many of them must know that the founders of the establishment to which they are said to be friends, went upon different grounds. And many good and wise friends of that establishment have not scrupled to acknowledge, that the establishment itself could not be vindicated without asserting a right

founded in christian liberty, of dissenting from the same liturgy and the same articles of faith, by which the members of the popish establishment in this kingdom were united. And it cannot but have an uncouth appearance, that the best and wisest friends of the present establishment, should wish to procure it a temporary and fallacious peace upon those very principles which would have prevented its existence.

But the Doctor does "not mean a consent "forced or feigned; but given freely and "sincerely; notwithstanding some small dif- "ference of sentiments, about points of spe- "culation or ceremonies."

Which, as I take it, is vindicating the protestantism of these our best and wisest friends, at the expence of their common sense. For what sort of a consent is this? A free and sincere, that is, a perfect consent, given by different men to the same liturgy, and the same articles of faith, excludes all possible difference of sentiments among those who are united by such consent. Surely the Doctor's friends cannot be so absurd as to wish for a consent in different sentiments. A sort of *consent* just as *unmeaning* as the supposed divisions among the Corinthians.

But what does the Doctor talk of "some "small difference of sentiments about points "of speculation or ceremonies," when it is but on the opposite page that he undertakes, "to "shew that great liberty is left for a difference "of judgments in matters either not plain "(points of speculation) or not important;

" (ceremonies;) so great indeed, that one " might reasonably hope it would extend to " every man, whose principles are not destruc- " tive of our church and nation, p. 7."

It would be very hard to say what particulars in our liturgy and articles might not be reduced to one of these two heads, *viz.* points of speculation, or ceremonies; and harder still to say, how far men might *not* differ about these, without espousing principles destructive of our church and nation. And if this indefinite liberty in differing may be taken, and is still consistent with a free and sincere consent to the same liturgy and the same articles of faith, it is amazing to me that there should be one dissenter in the whole kingdom.

But by the way, I wish the Doctor does not draw these best and wisest friends of our establishment into a snare, by promising more liberty in their name, than they would, upon trial, be willing to allow. " To promote this " union, he tells us, much has been already " done by those, who have explained with mo- " deration and clearness the several parts of " our ecclesiastical constitution." Who these are, what they have done, and with what success we partly know. But it seems they have not done enough. Then comes this great remover of difficulties, and he undertakes to shew, that a free and sincere consent to the same liturgy, and the same articles of faith, may be reasonably given by men who differ ever so widely about points of speculation or ceremonies, provided their respective principles

are not destructive of our church or nation. And after this, what can that "something" be which, as the Doctor insinuates, "remains to "be done hereafter?" Unless perhaps some unborn defender should start up at a future commencement, and insist that the liberty contended for in this sermon, may reasonably be extended to those men whose principles are destructive of our church or nation.

For my part, I know no better or wiser friends of our religious establishment, in its present circumstances, than our appointed pastors and overseers; and I cannot easily persuade myself that they are so ready to wish for these openings in the fences of the church, or to receive all who might be willing to enter in at them. And that my opinion is not wholly groundless, I appeal to the defender himself.

"The dissenters, says he, have been rendered obstinate in matters perfectly insignificant." Page 6.

Insignificant, to whom? Not to the dissenters; for "they suppose it necessary for every "man to determine these matters before he "can assent to our liturgy." They are the fathers and sons of the church then, to whom these matters are frivolous and insignificant; so insignificant it seems, that they would have been long ago forgot, if the dissenters had not kept the disputes about them on foot. But if these matters might have been forgot without any detriment to the church, they certainly might now be spared. And if the church still insists upon compliance with these matters, as terms of admission into her communion or her

ministry, who or what is it that is answerable for this obstinacy of the dissenters? This refusal of honest but mistaken men? or the conduct of those less honest men who assent without conviction? Where does the *perverseness* begin? At those who treat these obscure, unimportant, perfectly insignificant matters, as if they were plain and clear, and of the utmost importance; or at those, who, in reverence to what they really think an higher authority, cannot be persuaded to have them so treated? Can it be supposed that the friends of a religious establishment which gives all this consequence to these *insignificant* matters, would be willing to allow of a liberty in assenting to them, which, as the Doctor explains it, would amount to a total abolition of them?

The Doctor indeed seems to be of opinion that, in matters of this nature, there is no authority superior to that of the church; for, "he "will not enter into any debate with those, "who calling themselves servants of Jesus "Christ, and members of the catholic church, "assert their freedom from all human imposi-"tions, and will not submit to any terms of "communion." Page 7.

But is it necessary that he who asserts his freedom from all human impositions, should at the same time renounce all terms of communion? Does not the Doctor know, that what the men he here alludes to, oppose to human impositions, are the terms of communion prescribed in the scriptures, considered as the word of God? Unless perhaps the Doctor may

imagine that the scriptures prescribe no terms of communion.

At the first reading of this passage I supposed the mistake must have been made at the press; and that the Doctor's M S. had certainly exhibited "any *such* terms of communion." But I presently saw this would not do; for then this catholic christian would not have been like the citizen of the world, who in the Doctor's account, is plainly free from all particular pacts and systems of civil policy whatever. A very decent comparison in the mouth of a christian divine! who should not be ignorant, that a servant of *Jesus Christ* hath *one* master, who hath left him very full and plain directions concerning his religious commerce with his brethren; and who hath enjoined him to pursue those directions in opposition to any doctrines or commandments of men, which are inconsistent with them.

"Should a man, says the Doctor, adhere "to this principle, [his freedom from human "impositions] he could never join in any pub-"lic worship." How so? why, "not only "the times and places and ceremonies of it, "but the words also, must either be appointed "by common consent, or chosen by him who "presides in each congregation. And that "conscience must be strangely perverse which "can submit to the directions of a single per-"son, and not to the authority of the public."

Very true, supposing these *directions* and this *authority* to have respect to the *same* human impositions. But should *that* conscience, after the most deliberate inquiry, be convinced

that what is appointed by common consent, or directed by a single person, is in perfect agreement with the word of God; and that what is prescribed by public authority is contrary to it; or if in the one case, nothing is imposed on that conscience without its consent, while in the other, its consent is neither asked nor regarded; the Doctor, I'm afraid, must acquit that conscience of all strange perverseness, or deprive the church of England of one of her fairest apologies for separating from the church of Rome.

The inquiry therefore is not thus reduced to so narrow limits as the Doctor pretends: unless he intends to rest his argument thus: "A "liturgy may be prescribed,—may be honest- "ly conformed to—therefore our liturgy." This indeed cuts short all inquiry concerning either the merits of the liturgy, or the authority by which it is imposed; and renders all those hypothetical *ifs* concerning the doctrines, the propriety of the service, and the sincerity of him who conforms to it, with which this curious paragraph is closed, utterly impertinent to the point in hand.

And, to own our obligations to him, the Doctor seems very well disposed to save this conscience the trouble of so diffusive an inquiry.—"The declarer's assent, says he, is to "be given to the use, not the truth of the li- "turgy."

But here I would beg leave to question the fact. The assent under consideration is thus expressed. "*I N. N. do willingly and* ex "animo *assent that the Book of Common*

" *prayer, and ordering of bishops, priests and* " *deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary* " *to the word of God; and that it may lawful-* " *ly so be used:*" i. e. As containing nothing contrary to the word of God. Does not every one see, that the assent thus required to the use of the liturgy, plainly implies an assent likewise to the truth of it? or, what is the same thing in the language of protestants, an assent to its agreement with the word of God?

Perhaps the Doctor may allude to another form, *that* in the act of uniformity, where the declaration injoined is indeed supposed to refer to the use only of the liturgy, the ground of which notion we shall presently examine. But as the assent abovementioned is always subscribed, on the same occasions, by the same persons who declare the other, it was hardly fair in the Doctor not to take them both together, especially as the defence of subscriptions is what he more expressly undertakes in this discourse.

But let us take the matter in his own way, and see what he would make of it. " This assent then, which is given to the *use*, not " the *truth* of the liturgy, cannot, he tells us, " be understood to extend farther, than to an " approbation of the doctrine, which it [the " liturgy] openly professes, or with which it " has an evident and necessary connection." Page. 8.

Cannot be understood to extend farther! Not *so far*, I should think, unless a man may honestly *approve* doctrines, which he may not *believe to be true*. But this probably the Doc-

tor does not chuse to hold, at least in plain terms. And to do him justice, he is here only hunting for a distinction between these doctrines, and some other parts of the liturgy, with respect to which, as he would insinuate, the assent does not extend *so far* as *approbation.* An undertaking indeed of no small difficulty, considering that the assent is given in the very same words, to *all* parts of the liturgy alike. But the necessity is urgent, and he must try.

" No body, says he, ever asks concerning " a petition or a rule, whether it be true; but " whether it be decent, proper, reasonable, " useful."

All that can be meant by this is, that he who should say, " a petition or a rule is, or " is not true," would not speak with critical exactness. But in every petition there is some allegation, concerning the truth of which, every one, I suppose, to whom the petition is addressed, takes some care to be informed. And he who prefers a petition ought to be satisfied that the matters of fact, or the reasons suggested why his petition should be granted, are true; because on this circumstance the decency and propriety of his petition will chiefly depend. And so likewise, concerning a rule, a rule of religion at least, intended to direct me to a reasonable and useful manner of divine worship. And indeed of such a rule, I see not why truth or falsehood may not be predicated with the utmost propriety of language. So that every way, in the case of the liturgy, if you should only ask whether the doctrines of

it are true; the rules and petitions, which openly profess these doctrines, and are evidently and necessarily connected with them," must be equally concerned in, and affected by the answer, as the doctrines themselves.

But to what purpose is all this trifling? Is it not just as absurd for a man to assent to indecent and improper petitions, unreasonable and useless rules, as false doctrines? Might not the doctor just as well limit the *assent* to the *use* of this liturgy as it is distinguished from the *decency, propriety, reasonableness* of it, as from the *truth* of it? And there indeed does his argument end. "If such, says he, be our public service (i. e. decent, proper, &c.) we may do more than assent to it; we may heartily and thoroughly approve it." As much as to say, we may do less than approve the liturgy, and yet assent to it: we may assent to it, though it should not be such; though it should *not* be decent, proper, reasonable or useful.

"Thus, says the Doctor, the law which requires his assent, explains it." The law is then very complaisant in explaining what I am persuaded all the divinity in Cambridge cannot explain, namely, how an *assent* may be understood to extend to the *approbation* of doctrines without extending to the *truth* of them.

If the Doctor means that the law explains the assent to be given to the *use*, not the *truth* of the liturgy, the contrary is so evident by the testimony of a record, exhibiting the full sense of the legislature itself upon this subject, that

one cannot help being amazed at the assurance of those, who yet persist to screen themselves by so weak a pretence.

The learned Doctor Edmund Calamy proclaimed this, so long ago as the year 1704. He had then upon his hands, as an antagonist, a celebrated writer, and now venerable prelate of the church of England, who was not to be imposed upon, either by false assertions or sophistical reasoning; and who, being pressed with this matter of fact, in answer to what he had advanced to the contrary, found nothing to reply but that he "had heard the truth of "Dr. Calamy's account much contested." However the Doctor having appealed to the journals of the House of Lords, and repeated the same account without any variation in the year 1713, and, as far as ever I could hear, without any farther contradiction, I will now transcribe it, as well for the sake of confronting Dr. Powell, as for a memorial to some others, who might otherwise be apt to forget, or to overlook a piece of history they are so much concerned to take notice of.

"On July the 18th, 1663. a bill was sent "up from the Commons to the Lords, intitu- "led, an act for the relief of such persons as "by sickness or other impediment are dis- "abled from subscribing the Declaration in "the act of Uniformity, and explanation of "part of the said act. At the second reading "in the House of Lords it was committed. "Some alterations and amendments were made "by the committee, and a clause added of "this tenor: *And be it enacted and declared*

" *by the authority aforesaid, that the Decla-*
" *ration and subscription of assent and consent*
" *in the said act mentioned, shall be under-*
" *stood only as to the practice and obedience to*
" *the said act, and not otherwise.* This addi-
" tional clause was agreed to by a majority ;
" but twelve Lords protested against it as de-
" structive to the church of England as now
" established. When the bill was sent back
" to the Commons, they desired a conference,
" which was yielded to by the Lords. The
" Commons vehemently declared against the
" amendments and alterations of the Lords, and
" the additional clause ; and it was openly
" declared by one of the managers on the part
" of the Commons, that what was sent down
" to them touching this bill had neither justice
" nor prudence in it. When the conference
" was over, the Lords voted an agreement
" with the Commons, and dropped the addi-
" tional clause before recited."*

This may suffice to shew how the law explains this assent to the liturgy ; and if " common " sense requires that it should be otherwise ex-" plained," it can only be the common sense of those, who find themselves induced by various temptations, to assent to what they neither approve, nor believe to be true.

" But, the Doctor is of opinion that even " this part of its [the liturgy's] character " [namely, its decency, propriety, &c.] has " been sometimes examined too scrupulously.

* Dr. Calamy's Def. of mod. Nonconformity, Part 2d. p. 119. and Abridgement, p. 205.

" We meet with demands on one side, says he, " and boasts on the other, of such perfection, " as never was found, nor probably ever will " be, in any human composition."

Here I beg the Doctor's leave to distinguish between the perfection *demanded*, and the perfection *boasted of*. The dissenters and others who require perfection in the liturgy, require only that it should be modelled as near as may be to the plan of public worship laid down in the word of God. They insist, that the scriptures of the New Testament contain a plan sufficiently perfect for the ends of such worship, without the addition of any inventions or impositions of men. They think that such inventions and impositions disparage and corrupt the worship of God. And whenever the liturgy shall be so reformed as to have no doctrines, injunctions, forms or rites, but such as are contained in the said scriptures, or may be proved thereby, they will be satisfied.

But the boasted perfection of our present liturgy is of quite another sort, and is estimated by a very different test. A perfection which comprehends " all the purity and solemnity " only, which the wisest men can devise;" a perfection depending upon an hundred traditions, imaginations, political fitnesses and expediences, of which Christ or his apostles made no mention.

To say, therefore, that all human compositions are liable to imperfection, may be very proper to restrain the arrogance and presumption of these boasters; but is utterly impertinent when applied to the demands of those who

desire to have the liturgy altered and improved upon another bottom, and who mark out an unerring rule by which such alterations and improvements should be made.

" But how if the word of God itself should " be destitute of that imaginary perfection, for " want of which you reject the liturgy ?" Aye, there indeed you bring the answer home to the demanders with a witness. But how do you prove this imperfection in the book of God? Why, " even in the holy scripture itself, some " portions have been thought less proper to be " publicly read." Thought less proper ! By whom? By the compilers of the present liturgy, we suppose, against whom however Dr. Powell very well knows the dissenters object as incompetent judges of a proper service ; and whose word therefore is very unlikely to be taken for this imperfection in the word of God.

We will however suppose the compilers to be in the right in this matter, and that these portions of scripture are really less proper to be publicly read : what is the consequence? That the scriptures are imperfect ? No, the Doctor himself will allow that even these parts which are less proper for public reading, are profitable, and (I will take the liberty to add) perfect for the use of private exhortation, reproof, and instruction in righteousness. Where then is the similitude between the two cases ? If any parts of our public liturgy are less proper for public use, for what are they profitable or perfect besides ?

But dissenters object to our liturgy, as well

on account of "real blemishes," as the want of perfection. Upon which the Doctor asks, "is there in our liturgy any absurdity so glaring as to be visible to every eye? Is there "any impiety so monstrous as to shock every "devout worshipper?" And he pleases himself with answering, "our most scrupulous "adversaries never pretended it."

Nor do I suppose, they ever pretended there were such absurdities or impieties in a mass book, as were visible to every eye, or shocking to every devout worshipper. There have been such beings in the world in all ages, as blind leaders of the blind: and it will ever be the interest of some who see, to keep back absurdities and impieties in public systems from glaring in the eyes of the common people. But very few protestant divines have openly pretended to avail themselves of the blindness of the people, or of the artifices of such imposing leaders.

What advantage then to his cause can the Doctor make of this concession? If the adversary assert that these absurdities and impieties are in the liturgy, whether the people are shocked with them, or see them, or not; it is his business as a defender, to join issue in good earnest, and to shew that the liturgy is clear of all such real blemishes, and that nothing of this sort can be imputed to it.

He would indeed have it understood, that the objections of our adversaries do not imply that there are any absurdities or impieties in the liturgy at all. For he tells us "their com-"plaints relate chiefly to those appointments,

" in which there was the greatest room for a " difference in men's judgment or fancy. Of " what length the public service should be, " into how many parts it may conveniently " be divided, what passages of the scriptures " ought to be intermixed with it, how often " some of our most important petitions may " be repeated, either in the same or a different " form; these, and such as these are the matters " in controversy: matters of so uncertain a na- " ture, that it might be difficult to find two " thinking men, *if even thinking men were* " *not guided by fashion*, who would determine " them exactly alike."

Are then *these* and *such as these* in very deed, the matters *only* or even *chiefly* in controversy? If the Doctor really thought so, he must be very little acquainted with the true state of it. Nothing surely but the profoundest ignorance or dissimulation could have drawn any man into this partial and unfair account of the matters in debate between the dissenters and the church of England concerning the liturgy.

I have now a small, but very sensible pamphlet lying before me, printed no longer since than the year 1755, wherein I find the following objections to the liturgy, enumerated in a note at the bottom of the page.

" The order for reading the apocryphal ro- " mances of *Tobit*, *Bel* and the *Dragon*.— " *Sponsors* introduced to the exclusion of the " *parents*.—The questions put to the *infant*, " and the answers expected from it in the *of-* " *fice of Baptism*.—The authoritative absolu- " tion and forgiveness of all sin directed to be

" pronounced in *the visitation of the sick.*—
" The expressions of strong hope of the hap-
" piness after death of some of the vilest of
" men in *the office for burial.*—The *creed*
" called *Athanasius's*, with the dreadful sen-
" tence of damnation on every soul of man,
" that doth not throughly believe it."*

Can the Doctor suppose that the men who make these, and other such objections as these to our liturgy, will acknowledge that they see no glaring absurdities, no shocking impietie in it? or can he pretend that these are of so uncertain a nature, that even thinking men may give them up to the fashion, without any just imputation either upon their good sense or their integrity?

" The same answer, says the defender, may
" be given in all disputes concerning the cere-
" monies observed in public worship. Whe-
" ther it be more decent on one occasion for
" the minister to kneel; on another for the
" people to sit, can never be determined by
" any principles of reason." p. 10.

If this however may be determined by principles of scripture, it will, I imagine be just as satisfactory to those who object to the ceremonies. The merit of the Doctor's argument lies wholly in his equivocal use of the word *decent*. *Decency* is a relative term; and when applied to customs merely popular, depends entirely upon fashion; and then, what is fashionable

* *Serious and Free Thoughts on the present State of the Church*, p. 21.

is decent, whether it be strictly reasonable or not. But when you speak of religious customs directed by an uniform and invariable rule given by God himself, then whatever is not agreeable to that rule, is according to the strictest principles of reason, *indecent*.

To explain this matter by an example in point. The dissenters object to kneeling at the Lord's-supper; and alledge, that being administered by Christ, and received by the apostles in a *table*-posture, the same must still be the requisite posture in the celebration of it. If indeed the dissenters should say it would be indecent to celebrate the Lord's-supper otherwise than lying along upon couches, which was the table-posture at the time of its institution, the Doctor's observation would perhaps be of some force against them; because fashion, and not reason, must determine which of the two table-postures, the ancient one of lying along, or the modern one of sitting upright, is the more decent. But in the present case, it is not one table-posture that is opposed to another: but a table-posture opposed to a posture of adoration which has been uniformly used as such, in all ages and places throughout the world. This posture of adoration, they insist, ought not to be used, but when you are addressing yourself to a proper object of adoration. In the Lord's, supper is no such object, (unless you admit the doctrine of Transubstantiation) and to use a ceremony of adoration where there is nothing to be adored, is one degree at least of idolatry.*

* Some of the divines of the church of England, perceiving this plain argument to bear very hard upon the common practice, have

I have taken the pains to strip the Doctor of his sophistry in this passage, that his readers may not be imposed upon by what perhaps at the first glance, might appear to be sense. Indeed I am not satisfied that the Doctor himself was not imposed upon by his own artifice; inasmuch as he seems not to have the least conception, that ceremonies of any sort have any thing to do with the scriptures, or the scriptures with them. For thus he goes on:

"The greatest part of mankind always think "that ceremony right, to which they have "been accustomed. Nor are they much mis-"taken. For in matters of this sort nothing "is plainly wrong but change."

In plain english, "all ceremonies, religious as well as others, which have prescription on their side, are *right;* and they only in the *wrong* who attempt to change or abolish them. The ancient pagan ceremonies were *right;* so are the mahometan; so were the jewish ce-

thought fit to say, "that the communicant may address himself to God, in reference to the action he is about, with great propriety, and consequently upon his knees;" and accordingly, have furnished and recommended to the people a number of books, called, *Week's Preparations*, *Companions to the Altar*, and so forth, as useful directories on these occasions. But what say the Rubrics to all this? Do they give countenance to the use of such books, or indeed to the use of any prayers at all during the action of receiving, to which only the dispute relates? No, not by a single hint. And indeed how should they? Such directories only serving to confound the private devotions of the communicant with the public service of the church; for who can attend to both at once? And what becomes of our Doctor's unity of worship, while both are going forwards together? This therefore is not defending the liturgy, but their own conceits.

remonies; and though the ceremonies which have succeeded them have gained *an indisputable title by long and quiet possession,* yet the attempt to change them at first was certainly *wrong*. In pursuance of this doctrine, the papists were *right* in their ceremonies before the reformation; and the protestants a set "of "honest perhaps, but mistaken men, who sent "so many of them a packing." This is done like a workman, and may with a good grace pretend to the solemn thanks of the next session of the congregation *de propaganda fide.*

"But, adds the defender, whether the point "in dispute be of greater or less importance; "capable of being exactly defined or not; yet "he who, without public authority, assumes "to himself the determination of it, assumes "a power which every man might claim with "equal reason."

Undoubtedly; and why not? provided the assumer regulates his determination by the word of God. Who or what shall determine me in an acceptable manner of worshipping God (which is my own affair, and can be no man's else, but in so far as he is concerned for himself) but the word of God? And where is the harm or the inconvenience of admitting this claim?

The Doctor tells us indeed, that "this is a "power which if every man should exercise, "all united worship must totally cease."

If it must, there is no help for it. But I would willingly flatter myself, that there is neither so profound an obscurity in the directions given for united worship in the scriptures;

nor so extreme a perverseness in mankind, as these unguarded expressions seem to imply.

Unity of worship, according to the scriptures, consists in the agreement of the worshippers, *as touching any thing they shall ask of their heavenly Father in the name of Christ.* And Christ himself hath declared, that where two or three so agreeing, are gathered together in his name, their worship is sufficiently united to be both acceptable and effectual. Is it impossible for two or three pious and sincere men, to unite in these terms of worship? Much rather possible, I should think, than for two or three hundred to unite in forms, which contain "matters of so uncertain a nature, that it "might be difficult to find two thinking men, "—who would determine them exactly alike: "and with respect to which, it must often "happen, that they who will not withdraw "themselves from those religious assemblies "where such terms are imposed, will be obli- "ged to comply with forms which they do not "wholly approve."

What idea the defender may have of united worship, or what opinion of its necessity, would be difficult to find out by any thing he has said on the subject. He seems to place it in a mere external conformity to the same modes of worship; since the concessions abovementioned are absolutely inconsistent with the supposition of internal agreement. Either way, I'm afraid it will turn out, to the Doctor's great misfortune, that even the church of England herself is liable to cessations of united worship in some degree. I have observed some

worshippers in this church, and I have heard of more, who, the moment the minister begins the Athanasian creed, shut their books and sit down, till it is finished. Others there are, who signify by their behaviour, their dissent to the use of certain imprecations in the Psalms, as highly improper in a christian assembly, whether they who repeat them, have any particular application for them or not. There are still more, who express their embarrassment and dissatisfaction with other parts of the liturgy, and make no scruple to declare they never join in them. Would not the defender's distinction between the use and the truth of the liturgy, be just as necessary to restore unity of worship in the church, as unity of assent and subscription?

Indeed the poor clergy, and their parish clerks, appear to me to be the only thinking men, who are absolutely under the guidance of fashion, in this unhappy case. And when one considers that such forms as these gentlemen do not wholly approve, may have the outward appearance of a solemn address to the great searcher of hearts, in what the Doctor calls, some of our most important petitions, there is but one reflection which the common sense of mankind will naturally suggest upon the occasion; and which, out of tenderness to the parties concerned, I willingly forbear to mention. The condition of many of them is indeed full of distress and difficulty; and these it is our duty both to pity, and to pray for. But I can think of no other defence that is to be made for them, but by shifting the *woe* from

them, to those *by whom the offence cometh;* or being now become notorious, by whom it is still continued.

But what occasion for all these minute disquisitions in the case of the liturgy? "In "other cases, similar to this which we are "considering, says the defender, men do not "perplex themselves with the same difficul- "ties. It was never agreed, what is the most "convenient form of civil government. Yet "except some few *whose enthusiasm has ap- "proached to madness*, all have without scru- "ple submitted to every form; while it an- "swered in any degree, the principal purposes "of its institution."

For a return of his compliment to these *excepted few*, we may remit the Doctor to the advocates of some eminent names, in the list of our non-jurors of the last generation; who probably in their reply, even to the bare matter of fact, might come to ruin the merits of this curious case.

But that is none of my business. I will suppose the case to be fairly stated, and consider only the similarity of it, to that which it is brought to illustrate.

The single and sole purpose of instituting civil government, is to provide for the temporal security and happiness of mankind; and while civil government answers this principal purpose of its institution in any degree, it is less material what the forms of it are; for the purpose may be answered under very different forms. And the reason why submission to any, or all these forms in their turn, offends no man's

conscience, is because revelation is supposed to be silent about them, and to leave men to adjust the forms of civil government to their own particular circumstances, which by reason of an endless variety in the situation, produce, climate, &c. of different countries, and in the genius, temperature, and complexion of their inhabitants thence arising, must always infinitely vary.

But has the institution of divine worship, public or private, no purpose beyond the temporal happiness of a people? Has not revelation assigned sufficient reasons, why the supreme governor of the world should more immediately interpose his authority in one of these institutions, than in the other?

The defender seems to make some difficulty of admitting this, for he says—"Let it not be "pretended that the affairs of civil life are more "indifferent, or more subject to human pru- "dence, than the affairs of religion."

But why not *pretend* it? The saviour of the world not only *pretended* it, but *proved* it. No matter for that, the Doctor has reasons of his own, and here they are.

"The virtue, and knowledge, and happi- "ness of a people, certainly depend as much "on the form of their government, and the "nature of their laws, as on the ceremonies of "their public worship."

Very likely, unless those ceremonies are of a more useful and edifying sort, than such things too commonly are. But all this while we advance not one step, towards the similarity of the two cases. For the virtue, know-

ledge, &c. here meant, are but external virtue, human science, and temporal happiness. If the Doctor means any thing more, he must give us leave to make the necessary additions to his proposition, after which the merit of it will immediately appear.

" The internal as well as the external virtue, the knowledge of things divine as well as of things human, the future as well as the present happiness of a people depend as much on the form of their civil government, and the nature of their civil laws, as on—what? Not, the ceremonies of their public worship, but the affairs of religion;" for these were the affairs in question in his premises, though he has found the means to shuffle a few meagre ceremonies into their place in his conclusion.

Now as no christian divine can be supposed to avow the doctrine above-stated, I presume the Doctor will tell us, that the ceremonies of public worship were all the affairs of religion he was here considering; that he had nothing, for the present, to do with any other religious affairs at all; and that we had no business to put any terms into his conclusion, which he had seen fit to leave behind him in his premises.

Well then, supposing the Creator to have revealed to mankind, instructions sufficiently clear and explicit to direct them in all affairs of religion, may the ceremonies of public worship be detached from other affairs of religion? Are these ceremonies more indifferent, or more subject to human prudence than other affairs of religion? Equally indifferent, and equally subject to human prudence, as the forms of

civil government? This the Doctor must mean, if he would hope to bring the two cases any thing near to a parallel.

And this indeed, it is very plain he does mean, by his making the rightfulness of religious ceremonies to depend intirely on the authority of custom. But then, upon this footing, the discerning reader will immediately perceive that the cases are not similar, but exactly the same; and that the Doctor can reap no sort of benefit to his cause, by putting them into a comparison.

As therefore the Doctor and his adversaries the dissenters, have so very different notions of the nature and lawfulness of religious ceremonies, he must strangely deceive himself if he should hope, they will "let the decision in "both cases proceed upon the same princi- "ples." Since if they should conform to liturgies upon the same principles that induce them to submit to the forms of civil government, they might perhaps be obliged to acquiesce in a liturgy, which was barely useful for temporal purposes, without one spark of piety or perfection in it of any other sort.

But while the good Doctor is thus employed in finding wickets for the admission of his adversaries, "he would not be understood to "intimate that of all the difficulties which "they have heaped together, any part remains "unremoved; his view is only to convince "them, that the removal was more than they "could reasonably demand."

Difficulties are greater or less, according to the strength required to overcome them. Some

strain at gnats, others can *swallow camels*. Difficulties may be removed with respect to some persons, which to others remain insuperable. To suppose the difficulties under consideration to have been removed with respect to the dissenters, is begging the question. And the defender's arguments which go upon that supposition, amount to no more than an account of his own strength and digestion.

Whoever undertakes to remove difficulties, or to lesson those which remain unremoved, should, for the sake both of his own credit, and the success of his undertaking, be well acquainted with the abilities and dispositions of those he is to conduct through them, as well as the nature of the difficulties themselves.

In the present case, the principal difficulty on the part of the dissenters, arises from that saying of our Lord which imports, that they *who teach for doctrines the commandments of men, worship God in vain;* or as it is in *Isaiah*, *who teach the fear of God by the precept of men.* And they argue, that if the liturgy of our church contains any of these *doctrines*, *commandments*, or *precepts*, it must be so far a *vain* or a *false* rule of worship.

Now there are but two possible methods of removing this difficulty, either, 1. by shewing that the liturgy contains no such commandments or precepts; or 2. by purging them out of the liturgy. Dr. Powell pleads for conformity to the liturgy in its present form. Has he then, proved that it stands clear of this difficulty? No, he has all along supposed the contrary. With what face then can he affirm,

either that "no part of all the difficulties heaped "together by our adversaries remain unremo- "ved, or that the removal of them is more "than they can reasonably demand?"

But why should this demand be so unreasonable? "Because, says the Doctor, it is not "a condition of union in our church, that "even its ministers should acknowledge every "thing in the public service, to be exactly "what is best and fittest."

Once more, the question is not concerning what is absolutely *best* and *fittest*, but concerning what is *good* and *fit*, according to a particular rule, in the competency and authority of which both sides are agreed. Will the Doctor say, that the ministers of the church do not acknowledge, that every thing in our public service is good and fit, according to this rule? No, he will not say so much positively, and plainly; he only insinuates it, by way of cajoling these malecontents into a little good humour; though unhappily the artifice is too flimsy even for present use; for thus stands the case.

"You subscribe or assent to the *use* not the "*truth* of the liturgy." Very well, says the candidate, that is some comfort. It implies no more than an assent to follow in my practice the prescribed forms of prayer; and I am still at liberty to think what I will, of the rectitude of the service. "Not so, says the defender, "for at your entrance into the ministry, you "are to profess in the strongest manner, that "in your mind you assent to these forms." Assent *in my mind!* says the man, pray wherein

does this differ from assenting to the truth of the liturgy?—Here the sophistry is all spun off; the scrupulous subscriber is left to settle matters with his conscience as he can; and the pompous casuist after all his grimace, appears to understand this declaration, (if he understands at all) just as it is understood by every man whom it drives from our communion.

We are now to enter upon a new scene; "the case of our other subscription, which "according to our defender, is to be understood in a different manner."

"Our articles of religion, says he, are not "merely articles of peace. They are designed "also as a test of our opinions."

They are then both articles of peace, and a test of our opinions. *Peace* when spoken of in reference to *opinions*, implies *agreement* and *consent* in the *same* opinions. And then the definition of our articles will stand thus. "The xxxix articles are a test by which it is proved, that *all* the subscribers to them are of the same opinions with respect to the several doctrines contained in the said articles." This likewise is perfectly agreeable to the account which the articles give of themselves, viz. *articles agreed upon by the Archbishops, and Bishops of both provinces, &c. for the avoiding of diversities of opinion, and stablishing consent touching true religion.* Whence it appears that the subscribers to these articles, are understood by the church, not only to believe them, every one for himself, but *all* to believe them in *one uniform* sense.

The same is likewise implied in Dr. Powell's description of them. If two or more men subscribe an article each in a different sense, that article immediately ceases to be an article of peace; and diversities of opinion are not thus avoided, but rather promoted; or at least made more public than they would otherwise have been. For it is very possible that many of these subscribers, would have had no other opportunity or temptation to have signified some of their opinions, but this of subscribing. On the other hand, if one or more men subscribe these articles, as articles of peace, without any respect to their opinions; or as some have explained this, as engaging not to contradict them, they cease to be a test of opinions. Consent touching true religion, is not established by such subscription.

Thus hath the defender shut the door upon all latitude, even before he hath brought it into view, unless peace and dissention, identity and diversity are precisely the same things, and that there may be a sort of tests by which nothing can be proved. How he attempts to recover his ground, we shall see in its place.

In the mean time, as the defender, in this paragraph, offers the only shadow of an argument in defence of the church for requiring subscriptions, that is to be found in the whole sermon, (the rest of it being indeed little else but an apology for subscribers,) it is quite necessary to bestow some previous consideration upon that.

"It is not, says he, more unreasonable to "exclude a man from this office, [of a teacher

" of religion] who through error, unavoidable " suppose, and innocent error, is unfit to " execute it, than to deny him a civil employ- " ment for which he is accidentally disquali- " fied."

The tokens of disqualification for a civil employment are visible and notorious; or at least may become so by such evidence as will prove the disqualification to the highest degree of certainty. Some circumstances of disqualification for the ministry, may likewise be thus discovered and proved, such as ignorance and immorality. And so far, parity of reason will bear the church of England out, in rejecting insufficient and improper candidates. But what method has this church of ascertaining the truth or error of any man's opinions, so as reasonably to pronounce him fit or unfit, on that sole account, to execute the office of a teacher?

The church of England claims to be a protestant church. In all protestant churches the rule of faith is contained in the scriptures of the old and new testament; and whoever conforms his faith and opinions to that rule, is, or ought to be, upon protestant principles, acquitted of error.

The only equitable trial of a candidate for the ministry, in these circumstances, is, to examine whether he has a competent knowledge of the several languages in which the scriptures were originally written; a just notion of the importance of those principal passages, in the sense of which all mankind are generally agreed; and in which it is chiefly necessary the

people should be instructed: and if to the proof of his abilities in these particulars he is willing to add a solemn declaration, either by word or writing, that he believes the scriptures to be the word of God, and that he will instruct the people committed to his care out of those scriptures only, to the best of his judgment and understanding, no possible objection can be framed upon protestant principles, against his admission into the ministry, so far as such objections relate to errror.

But it is possible, you will say, for men very well qualified in these respects, to ground false and erroneous opinions upon passages of scripture; and for a number of such men to differ concerning the sense of the same passages. These things may occasion great evils and inconveniencies in religious societies, whose credit and influence, in a great measure, depend upon a concurrence in the same system of doctrines: and it would be very hard upon the church, if you would not allow her to provide a remedy for such an evil, since you allow it without reluctance to other societies.

Now whoever it is that makes this defence for subscriptions, it should not be Dr. P. The very same evils and inconveniencies must unavoidably attend that latitude which he allows in subscribers, that are here supposed to attend a free and unrestrained study of the scriptures. Of *two* inconsistent opinions *one* must be erroneous. Consequently, so far as the prevention of error, makes it reasonable for the church to impose subscription to the xxxix articles, the Doctor's subsequent scheme of la-

ti'ude, renders the church utterly indefensible.

Indeed, if the Doctor's scheme of latitude is wholly groundless and imaginary, (and such it will probably be found upon examination) then the apology, made above, for subscriptions, is the only one imaginable, and as such, deserves a direct and explicit answer, whether it comes from Dr. Powell, or any one else.

The question then is, not whether the church is reasonably intituled to the use of such a remedy, or such an antidote against error, but whether, in her present circumstances, she can find or procure such a remedy; and particularly whether subscription to our present set of articles is the remedy required?

Let us then suppose in the first place, that these articles are exactly and perfectly agreeable to the word of God; and that all subscribers agree in putting one uniform sense upon them. Will subscription to them prevent the rise and growth of error in the church? By no means. Men may differ, and may err in an hundred points on which the articles are wholly silent; many of which may be of as pernicious consequence to the faith and manners of the people, as any of the errors supposed to be excluded by subscription: and I do not desire to confine this observation to our articles, but am willing it should be extended to the most voluminous protestant confession of faith, to be found in any collection now extant.

In the next place; if it should be a doubtful case, whether these articles are agreeable to the word of God or not, whither shall we go to have it determined? A candidate for the ministry thinks some of these articles are erroneous, and refuses to subscribe them. The church, upon such refusal, excludes him from the ministry, and says the error is with him. Who shall judge between them? The candidate, as a protestant, is undeniably intituled to his right of private judgment. And in this the church cannot overrule him, without renouncing her own protestant principles, and asserting to herself that very infallibility, which she denies to the church of Rome: and without this infallibility, where the error lies, whether in the article or the candidate, must remain an impenetrable secret.

Our warmest and most orthodox divines have been made so sensible of this dilemma upon the church, that the most bigotted among them have given up subscription as a test of truth and error; and have twisted themselves and the articles, into a thousand different attitudes, in order to find, if possible, some other reasonable argument for imposing it.

For example. "When we speak of a *right*, "says the very orthodox Dr. Stebbing, to de- "termine what is the true sense of any article "of faith, we do not propose the explication "given in virtue of this right, as a rule for "the faith or conduct of christians, but only "as a rule, according to which they shall ei-

" ther be admitted or not admitted to officiate " as public ministers."*

This looks as if the church had a right of determining, &c. for her ministers, but no right to determine for other christians. For surely what the church has a right to determine, she must have a right to propose as a rule. Or might the Doctor mean, that they who were to be admitted to officiate in the church as public ministers, were not, on those occasions, considered by the church as christians? But to make sense of his own positions was Dr. Stebbing's business, and is not mine. What I cite him for is only to shew, that even this zealous advocate for subscription, durst not venture to propose the articles, as a test of truth and error.

It would be entertaining enough to transcribe a few more of these reasonable accounts of subscription, since this notion of a test of truth and error was given up; wherein the distressed casuists are for ever giving with one hand, what they find themselves obliged to draw back with the other. And in this fluctuating state things remained; no man knowing what he had to depend upon, till a great genius arose, before whom no difficulties could stand their ground for a single moment; and from him we learn, that "the clue to lead us " safe through all the intricacies and perplex- " ities in which the controversy [concerning

* Rational Enquiry into the proper methods of supporting christianity. Page 36.

"religious tests] has been involved, is that "the true end for which religion is *established* "is, not to provide for the *true faith*, but for "CIVIL UTILITY."*

This I presume is quite satisfactory. No man after this can pretend to entertain any scruples about subscription, or any other terms of conformity. For it seems that a dissenter from these terms, who may think his quiet dissent sufficiently justified before God and man by something he finds in the gospel of Christ, is all the while incurring the guilt of an offender against the *civil utility* of his country. Be it remarked however, by the way, that some people have drawn but an aukward consequence from this doctrine, namely, that if this is really the case, Jesus Christ, very probably never intended that *his* religion should be established at all.

It would not be easy to find out what it was that led our defender, so much as to a hint of this use of subscription, which so many of his brethren, equally willing, and equally zealous, had found themselves obliged to desert and explode. If he thought himself able to justify the church in establishing a test of truth and error, distinct from that in the scriptures, he should have proceeded farther than a bare hint. But this again could not be done, without penning up the latitude he had devised for the scrupulous subscriber, within so narrow limits, as would have made it of no sort of signifi-

* The Alliance between Church and State. Lond. 1748. Page 254.

cance. All that can be said for him is, that he was determined, neither the church nor the subscriber should want the benefit of any plea that could possibly be offered, either for the one or the other; however inconsistent these pleas might appear to be when they came to be considered together: in which indeed, to do him justice, he is not alone.

We conclude then that the church is not defended in this sermon for requiring subscription to our articles, by any thing advanced by the preacher of it; and it now remains that we consider how the subscriber is to be defended in complying with what, for any thing the Doctor has made appear, cannot reasonably be required.

"He therefore, says he, who assents to our "articles, must have examined them, and be "convinced of their truth."

As this is a general inference drawn from premises where the nature, use, and reasonableness of subscriptions are stated, one would imagine that it should extend to all subscribers whatever. And yet it appears by the sequel, that the Doctor had no such intention, and that there are cases for which he himself hath provided a dispensation from what he here says *must* be done.

It is well known that subscription to the xxxix articles is required of those who are in no degree able or qualified to examine whether they are true or false: "of those, for example, "who are engaged chiefly in other pursuits "than the study of religious knowledge in

" every branch; and of those who are just be-
" ginning to exercise their reason."

To this it is answered, "That the assent of
" these may be differently understood.— They
" may acknowledge themselves members of the
" church of England; and declare that they
" have no objection to her articles, but a ge-
" neral belief of them grounded on the autho-
" rity of others: and the defender supposes,
" that no man conceives any thing farther to
" be meant by their subscriptions."

Then I will venture to say, that no man *conceives* these subscribers to give any assent to the articles at all, upon the Doctor's principles. For if examination and conviction be necessary to that assent which is given to the articles, how can they be said to assent to them, or to be convinced of their truth, who have had no opportunity or no capacity to examine into it? The Doctor hath then evidently rooted up his own foundations; and this maxim which stands at the head of his argumentation with so much solemnity, must pass for nothing but so many idle unmeaning words. But we shall meet with this particular case again. Let us now go on with the defence:—

Which informs us that "the truth of the
" articles perhaps might have been obscured
" with fewer doubts and difficulties, had men
" attended to the proper method of interpreting
" them."

Whence we learn, that these articles which have hitherto passed for interpretations of scripture, do now want to be interpreted themselves. The strongest reason that can possi-

bly be invented for the utter abolition of them. It is for the honour of our reformers to suppose, that they intended by these explanations to give the sense of scripture in the plainest and clearest manner they could. Time, and the mutability of language have rendered these interpretations equally, perhaps more doubtful and difficult to understand, than the very scriptures they were intended to explain. Do not reason and common sense direct us, in this case, to newer and more intelligible explanations of scripture, and to lay aside these old and obsolete ones as of no farther use.

" It cannot appear strange, says the Doctor, " that there should be rules of interpretation " peculiar to these writings, when the design " of interpreting them is peculiar."

Very true; the *strange* part of the story is, that these writings which are so doubtful and difficult, should still be retained in a protestant church. as a test of the orthodoxy of its members; or indeed, that any authentic interpretations of any thing, should stand in need of farther interpretations. But these writings being retained in the church in the nature of a test, and the design of the interpreters being to conform their discrepant opinions to these writings as well as they can, for many valuable considerations them thereunto moving, it is not at all strange that they should contrive rules of interpretation adapted to so peculiar a case.

" We are not concerned here, says the Doctor, to discover what was meant by the writers."

A very peculiar rule of interpretation indeed, to sit down to interpret writings, with-

out being concerned to discover the meaning of them! For what is the meaning of any writings but the meaning of the writers? Must not a man presume too much upon a willing audience who ventures to retail such contradictions to the common sense of all mankind, before so learned and solemn an assembly?

But after all, whose design, and what design does he mean? It appears by what this very defender subjoins to this jargon, that neither the governors of the church, nor the legislature have any design that the articles should be interpreted at all. "The former he "tells us have no authority to dispense with "or alter"--something or other, which must be the meaning of the articles, to save this part of his period from the peril of nonsense. "And "the sense of the legislature, that is to say, "the meaning they put upon the articles, he "says we shall never be able to determine." Which may be true, if we "are not concerned "to discover what was meant by the writers "of the articles;" and all for a very plain rea- "son.

Both the legislators and the governors of the church very well know, that the articles themselves are interpretations of scripture, and that to lay down rules for interpreting these interpretations, would have much the same wisdom in it, as to lay down rules for building a new house upon an old one. They have therefore, (thus far at least) sensibly and consistently, only injoined that the subscriber should declare, that these interpretations are agreeable to the scriptures; or in other words,

that they are true interpretations of scripture. If our legislators or the governors of our church, had any design to have these articles farther interpreted; or indeed, if they had any conception that they stood in need of it, it is reasonable to presume they themselves would have laid down the rules of interpretation, or have delegated their power to some particular body of interpreters, in whose judgment and integrity they could confide. As they have done none of all this, we are very sure they still adhere to the original sense of the compilers, and consequently confine every subscriber to that sense, by taking every subscription to the articles in one common form of words, which plainly implies it.

But if we are not concerned to discover the original sense of the writers, what are we concerned to discover? The defender replies, "what will be understood by the readers;" not the individual readers, who are more immediately required to subscribe, but readers in general. "For, continues the Doctor, every "sincere man who makes a public declaration, "will consider it as meaning what it is usually "conceived to mean."

Whence it follows, that he who dissents from the general voice of learned men—who subscribes in a sense, neither the most obvious, nor the most usual—who adds to the common stock of interpretations—and who differs from former interpreters, is not a sincere man. Yet the Doctor has given subscribers as much liberty in these instances as their hearts can wish. He could not mean to give men liberty

to be insincere. No, he only takes the liberty to be inconsistent with himself.

But there seems to me to be a more material objection to the defender's doctrine of sincerity. When applied to the case under our consideration; it stands thus:

"Every sincere man, when he makes a "public and solemn declaration of *his own* "faith, will consider that declaration as mean- "ing, not what it *really does mean*, not what "he himself may *apprehend it to mean*, not "what they who require such declaration "*have determined* it to mean; but what it is "*usually* conceived to mean by others, who "do not think themselves concerned to dis- "cover what the true meaning of it may be."

What company does the defender keep? His *thinking* men are guided by fashion; his *sincere* men make public and solemn declarations of their own faith in other mens meanings; and as we shall see presently, his *honest* men may agree without scruple, in the same confession of their faith, although they make this confession, in inconsistent senses!

Well then, there is it seems, an usual meaning of the articles (a meaning however unknown to, or at least unnoticed by the governors of the church, or the legislature) and where is this meaning to be met with?—"In the gene- "ral voice of learned men through the nation," says the Doctor.

But who are these learned men? Or where is their general voice registered? Here the defender is just as much at a loss as the rest of

us, as appears by his proposing the following queries.

" If our articles are thus to be explained, " will they not be rendered uncertain and use- " less by a variety of inconsistent senses? " Where shall we fix the standard of public " opinion? Will not every whimsical inter- " preter find some followers, whom he may " call the learned of the nation; and give the " colour of public authority to his own inven- " tions?"

The Doctor we own has hit our scruples to a hair. These are precisely the questions we desire to have answered; and we hope he is more of a sportsman than to start game which he will not fairly run down.

First then, " will not our articles, thus ex- " plained, be rendered uncertain and useless " by a variety of inconsistent senses?"

" Without doubt, says the Doctor, the me- " thod proposed admits some variety of inter- " pretations. And what other does not?"

We have pointed out to him one other which does not; the method of the church and the legislature. But the question is now concerning this new method of his own; and by so much of his answer as we have already recited, it appears that the standard of public opinion is not to be fixed. But this is not all we want to know. We desire him to be explicit, and to tell us plainly, will the method he proposes or will it not, " admit of a variety of incon- " sistent senses?"

Here he hesitates again, and gravely tells

us, " the larger its compass is, the more ho-
" nest men will it comprehend."

Aye, and the more knaves too, unless the Doctor's knaves have more scruples and nicer consciences than his honest men; which indeed I have some suspicion may partly be the case. But this is still keeping aloof from the point. Once more, will not this new method make room for inconsistent senses?

Why says the Doctor at last, " perhaps there
" is no danger, even in times of the greatest
" freedom and candour that it should become
" too wide."

If so, it must at all such times be wide enough to admit of inconsistent senses, or as he explains himself in the next paragraph, of opposite principles. And thus the articles are fairly given up as uncertain, and useless at least, if not something worse.

" What the limits of this variety ought to
" be, is it seems, no part of the Doctor's in-
" quiry."

What, not as a defender of subscriptions? He has made the articles a test of opinions; he has pinned down the sincerity of the subscriber to the usual meaning of the articles; and he has described this usual meaning to be the general voice of learned men. All which are plainly limitations on the compass of this variety. And is it after all no part of his business, as an advocate for the church, to inquire whether these limitations are just and proper? Will not some of our best and wisest friends be apt to blame us here for a little tergiversation?

" It is sufficient however, in the Doctor's " account, if he can determine what the li- " mits of this variety are; what difference of " judgments is allowed to those [honest men] " who may nevertheless agree without scru- " ples in the same confession of their faith."

The determination of these limits, is indeed the only expedient that can take away the scruples of honest men, in any affair of this nature. And yet, notwithstanding the Doctor undertakes this determination, and makes a mien as if he were setting about it, before we have done with him, we shall find him once more throwing up his game, and freely confessing, that this variety has no limits that he can possibly discern. Let us however attend to his attempts.

" Wherever an article is expressed in such " general terms as will fairly contain several " opinions, there certainly it is sufficient for " him who subscribes, to be convinced that " some one of those opinions is true."

As the Doctor has here supposed, that there are articles expressed in such general terms, a single instance of several senses fairly contained in any one article, would have been much to his purpose. Possibly a subscriber, by the help of some of the defender's expedients hereinafter mentioned, may be able to put a particular sense of his own upon some general words of an article, and this may be sufficient for the present case of the subscriber himself. But this, not being the real meaning of the article, is not sufficient for the church, which has no where declared, that this subscription

is required barely for the satisfaction of the subscriber.

But the Doctor attempts to prove that this likewise is sufficient for the church. " For it " has been said, that this latitude of expression " was chosen on purpose to admit within the " pale of the church, men of various, and " even opposite principles."

It has indeed been said, that a latitude capable of admitting different senses, was plainly intended in the wording of the articles. But whoever said that this latitude of expression was chosen on purpose to admit opposite senses? If one opinion is true, the opposite to it must be false. And if the 20th article is either to be believed or understood, nothing could be farther from the intention of the compilers, than to make room for repugnancy of opinions.

But among all those who have spoken of this latitude of expression in our articles, who has proved that any such thing was ever intended in any degree?

And here I cannot but stop to lament the hard fate of the defender, that he should be obliged to appeal to the meaning of the compilers on this occasion, which he thought himself so lately not concerned to discover on any. To relieve him a little under this perplexity, we will give him some light into this mystery, if it is only to induce him to look a little farther before him another time.

The first tidings of this latitude in our articles I have met with, are in the honest and facetious Dr. Thomas Fuller's church-history of

Britain, book ix. page 27. whose words are these.

" In the convocation now sitting, *(viz.* " anno 1562-3) the nine and thirty articles " were composed. *For the main* they agree " with those set forth in the reign of king " Edward the 6th; though in some particu- " lars, allowing more liberty to dissenting " judgments. For instance, in this king's ar- " ticles it is said, that it is to be believed, that " *Christ went down to hell* [*to preach to the* " *spirits there*] which last clause is left out in " these articles, and men left to a latitude " concerning the cause, time and manner of " his descent."*

Dr. Fuller is here a little inaccurate. The clause omitted says nothing of the *manner* of the descent: the *time* is ascertained in the creed to be between the death and the resurrection of Christ; and to this men are still obliged to subscribe. So that in these two points they had the same latitude left before as after this clause was left out. The latitude they ob-

* The various senses of which the word *Hell* is susceptible in our 3d article, is to this hour the favourite instance with the commentators and expositors, of a latitude of expression left in our articles; which looks as if such instances were scarce. Bishop Burnet probably took the hint from Fuller, and the rest from Bishop Burnet. But it should have been considered, that the composers had no notion of the various senses of the word Hell, as, out of all dispute they understood nothing by that word but the place of torment. Nor indeed did Fuller himself, who lived so long after them, as appears by his doubt concerning a local descent, arising from the words, *thou shalt not leave my soul in Hell*, applied by St. Peter to our Saviour, Acts ii. 27. See Fuller's *Appeal to injured innocence*. Part 2d. page 86.

tained by the dismission of this clause, was only with respect to the cause or end of the descent; a latitude or a liberty to believe any thing or nothing at all about it. Which is a very different thing from a liberty to put various senses upon expressions that still remain in the articles.

But to proceed with Dr. Fuller. "Hence "[i. e. from this and other alterations of the "same sort] some have unjustly taxed, the "composers [of these latter articles] for too "much favour extended in their large ex- "pressions, clean through the contexture of "these articles."

An idle and goundless taxation surely, with respect to the whole contexture of the articles; the greater part of which was the work of other composers; who, for reasons to be given by and by, we may be sure, never intended to leave any room for various senses, by the latitude of their expressions. And therefore if these new alterations admitted a latitude which the unaltered articles of King Edward did not admit, the intention of these latter composers must have been, to admit no latitude, where they altered nothing in those articles.

Fuller no doubt was aware of this, as appears by his saying that "the 39 articles agreed for "the main with King Edward's, and only al- "lowed more liberty in some particulars"; and if he had so thought fit, might have shewn the futility of this charge against the composers upon that bottom. But he was a good natured man, of a most healing and tolerating

spirit, and excessively fond of this latitude, as appears by his asserting it with so much warmth, when he had occasion to speak of Rogers's exposition. Instead therefore of confuting the taxation, he admits the fact it alledges without the least shadow of a support; and proceeds to defend and account for this supposed conduct of the composers as follows.

" This proceeded from their commendable " moderation.—These holy men did prudent- " ly pre-discover that differences in judg- " ments would unavoidably happen in the " church, and were loath to unchurch any, " and drive them off from ecclesiastical com- " munion for such petty differences, which " made them pen the articles in comprehen- " sive words to take in all, who differing in " the branches, meet in the root of the same " religion."

" He repeats the same fancy elsewhere in these terms. " The composers, providently " foreseeing that doctrinal differences would " arise in so large a church as England was, " even betwixt protestants agreeing in funda- " mentals of religion; purposely couched the " articles in general terms (not that falsehood " should take shelter under the covert there- " of, but) to include all such dissenters with- " in the comprehensiveness of the expressions.' *Book* ix. p. 173.

But if this had been the view of the composers, they would no doubt have bestowed their pains upon the whole contexture of the articles: for men might differ, and have differed

in their judgments, very considerably, concerning several doctrinal points, which stand in the present articles just as they did in those of King Edward.

Perhaps it will be said, that a sufficient latitude was already afforded in those passages of the old articles, which the composers in 1562 did not alter.

But here we appeal to the testimony of Fuller himself, who has given such an account of the first composers, as will not leave room for the least suspicion, that they intended to allow any latitude at all.

He tells us that "king Edward would not "suffer that convocation, which is even intituled the parent of his articles of religion, to "meddle with any matters of religion at all, "through a just jealousy which he had, that "the major part thereof, under the fair rind of "protestant profession, hid the rotten core of "romish superstition. It was therefore, says "he, conceived safer for the king to rely on "the ability and fidelity of some select confidents, cordial to the cause of religion, than "to adventure the same to be discussed and "decided by a suspicious convocation." *Church Hist.* B. vii. p. 421.

This indeed is the honest truth; and is sufficient to convince any one, that the first composers of our articles were far enough from chusing equivocal expressions to accommodate the papists, who were the dissenters whom the composers thought themselves chiefly concerned at that time to guard against. The doctrinal differences mentioned by Fuller arose from

the subject-matter of those articles which are now called Calvinistical, and which were levelled at the doctrines of *Free-will, Good works, Merit, Supererogation, &c.* esteemed in those days to be doctrines purely popish, when nobody dreamt of any controversy breaking out upon these heads among protestants.

And the pleasantry of the matter is, that the composers of our articles should, according to Fuller, be endowed with so exquisite a gift of prophecy, as to be able to pre-discover those particular doctrinal differences, which had no existence when the articles were composed; and that the articles should be as well fitted to comprehend the several senses of dissenters in these points, twenty or thirty years afterwards, as if the composers had had the whole controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians before their eyes.

And what is more wonderful still (if we believe Dr. Powell) the composers must have prediscovered all the doctrinal differences of our times; some of which are of so different a complexion from those of our forefathers, that few people would have imagined, without this notice from the Doctor, that any expressions in our articles were ever meant to comprehend, or could indeed be made by any means to extend to them.

After all, the best way to decide this dispute is to have recourse to the articles themselves. And here it will not be denied that some of the alterations made in 1562, were intended to abate the restriction to which the subscribers to Edward's articles had been confined.

But how was this abatement made? Not by expressing the exceptionable doctrines in less positive, or in ambiguous terms, but by wholly removing them. Thus the several articles concerning *the eternity of future punishments*, and the *sleep of the soul*, were wholly omitted; as was likewise a restrictive clause in each of the articles, concerning the *descent into hell*, and the *real presence*. But it is easily discernible that where any thing is added, or farther explained by new expressions, the burden is really increased. And whoever will consider the alteration in the 2d article; the addition of the intire 5th; the insertion of the words [*and believed*] in the 7th, the omission of the article intituled *of grace*, as leaving room for some degree of *free-will*; the first clause of the 20th; the inforcing *pædo-baptism* in the 27th, *as most agreeable to the institution of Christ*; the asserting to national churches an authority to ordain human rites and ceremonies in the 34th, &c.—Whoever I say will consider these and some other differences between our present articles and those of Edward VI. impartially, will find himself obliged to own that latitude and moderation were not the vices of the leading clergy in those days; and that Dr. Fuller's picture of them, is rather a likeness of what they should have been than of what they really were.

Upon the whole, it now plainly appears that this intended latitude of expression in our articles, (a notion which passes with wonderful facility from hand to hand, and is taken for granted in every conversation one hears on the

subject of subscription) is void of all foundation of truth. It turns out at length we see, to be nothing more substantial than the pleasing dream of an honest man, and perhaps a scrupulous subscriber, bred out of his earnest desire to have it so ; but now shewn from the very circumstances of the case and the contents of the articles themselves, impossible to be true ; or even if true, impossible to be applied to the sort of scruples which occasion the perplexity of conscientious subscribers in these days.*

But it seems, the state as well as the church gives countenance to this latitude of expression ; for " the clergy have been exhorted by " royal authority, to shut up all disputes in " the general meaning of the articles ; that " meaning, says the defender, which in some " curious points of controversy, persons of " every denomination have supposed to be on " their side."

The Doctor means that rescript, which is commonly printed at the head of our xxxix articles, under the title of, *His Majesty's Declaration ;* the authority of which is so very slender, and some of its contents in so little agree-

* Peter Heylin having peremptorily denied, againſt Fuller, that any liberty was left in our articles for diſſenting judgments, *Examen Hiſt.* page 143, it became neceſſary that Fuller, in his reply, ſhould ſupport ſo remarkable and intereſting a fact by the beſt authority he could come at. This authority turns out to be king James, who, on account of this latitude, *highly commendeth the diſcretion and moderation of the compoſers of our articles.* King James, indeed, was the firſt that found it out ; on what occaſion every one knows who is acquainted with the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of his reign.

ment with some parts of our present constitution, that it cannot be admitted to decide any thing in the present question: and he that should undertake to support its validity, or to make it consistent with reason, the law of the land, the original design of the articles, or even with itself, would have great reason to wish he had found some better employment for his time.

This I suppose will sufficiently appear, by the very ill success so able a defender as this has had in his comment upon one single clause of it.

The declaration exhorts "to shut up all disputes in the general meaning of the articles;" that is, to shut up each dispute in that one general meaning, which that article to which the dispute relates, expresses. Now this must be some general meaning which cannot be supposed to be on any side. For this same declaration expressly forbids every man "to draw the article aside any way," or "to put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article." Whereas the defender will have this general meaning to be "a meaning which persons of every denomination may suppose to be on their side." That is to say, this general meaning may be twenty different meanings, put upon the article by so many different men, which is no doubt a most effectual method of shutting up all disputes.

I am not at all concerned, as I hinted above, to answer for the good sense, or the consistency of this declaration: and I should have thought the defender had just as little to do with

it as any man in the kingdom. For instance, the declaration threatens, that any man who shall affix any new sense to an article, shall be very severely dealt with. In defiance of which prohibition, the defender allows every subscriber to differ as much from former interpreters, as they have frequently done from each other. How lucky is it for the Doctor that he is out of the reach of the church's censure in that commission ecclesiastical; of which the declaration makes mention? Had the defender lived in the day of this declaration, and expressed himself in the manner he has done in this sermon, it is hardly to be doubted but the royal authority, notwithstanding all its gentle and relaxative exhortations, would have seen due execution upon him, for more than one passage in his defence.

But we are now coming to something of a different nature. We are told, that, "they "are not only general words which are capa- "ble of different interpretations. Such as "were originally determinate, by length of "time and change of circumstances may be- "come ambiguous."

But if ambiguous, they must still be general words, and as such only, capable of different interpretations. Does not the defender himself here oppose general words, to words of a determinate meaning? When words lose their determinate sense, (which is always the case when they become ambiguous) they are, to all the intents and purposes of receiving different interpretations, general words. Does he mean, that length of time, and change of circumstances may make words ambiguous in them-

selves, so that no determinate sense can be put upon them? The contrary is most evident in the works of good writers of all ages and in all languages. The meaning of a word in an ancient writing, may, if you please, by length of time, and change of circumstances, become obscure or perhaps unknown, for want of our knowing the thing of which that word is the name or the sign. But no good writer uses any word so, that it may signify two or more several things: and from bad writers we have no occasion to take any rules, either of writing or interpretation.

"Custom, says the Doctor, can take away "the force of expressions, or give them a new "meaning."

If the Doctor intended this as an illustration of his foregoing period, he is wide of his mark. When the original force of expressions is taken away, and a new meaning given them, the ambiguity of such expressions ceases: and this indeed length of time, and change of circumstances may do, with respect to the use of ancient words in modern writings. But what is all this to a subscriber of our articles?

Now for the application. "Where the ori-"ginal sense is one, the received another, the "subscriber is at liberty to use them in either. "That he may understand them in their most "obvious and primitive signification, will "scarce be doubted: and yet if there is any "place for doubt, it can be only here."

Before our author called it in question, I believe no body ever doubted but the subscriber might use the words of our articles, in their

most obvious and primitive signification. But he hath not only doubted whether this sense may be used, but positively determined that it may not. For if the subscriber is not concerned to discover this sense: and if he must use the usual or the received sense, on the pain of being accounted an insincere man, the unavoidable consequence will be, that where the original sense is one, the received another, the subscriber is not at liberty to use the original sense at all.

Here he veres about again, and is, in this point, become as one of us, who nevet dreamt there was any place for doubting in so clear a case. All our doubt is, whether, where the original sense is one, the received another, the subscriber is at liberty to take the articles in the latter sense at all.

For, in the first place, has not the defender himself made it in the highest degree probable, that this received, this usual, this customary sense, is a mere chimæra? Has he not imposed upon himself the task of finding it out and fixing it? And has he not, in this very defence, acknowledged that, instead of being one fixed determinate sense, it may be twenty different, and those inconsistent senses? By all means let us know what this received sense is, before you impose it upon us an authentic sense to which we may subscribe.

No, we are it seems to take it for granted that such a sense there is, though no body knows how to fix it or where to find it.—But this received sense we will suppose, is found out and fixed; and what then?

Why then, "that the subscriber may un- "derstand the articles as they are usually un- "derstood, cannot be denied, unless we also "deny the meaning of words to be arbitrary "and changeable."

I am afraid the learned casuist hath here imposed upon his own penetration. In modern writings or conversation, men use several words in very different senses from those in which the same words were used an hundred or more years ago. If these words should be used in such writings or conversation in their ancient sense, the writer or the speaker would not be understood. But when a man sits down to a book written an hundred or more years ago, he must then understand and interpret these words in their *ancient* or *primitive* sense, or he will make his author speak or write *no sense at all.*

In this view is the meaning of words arbitrary and changeable, and in this view only. For with all this mutability you are far from being at liberty to understand these words in their primitive, or in their received sense, as you please. In modern writings the ancient sense of such changeable words, is plainly excluded. And for the same reason, in ancient writings, the received or the modern sense, is as evidently interdicted. Common sense prescribes this variety of usage, and fixes these limits to this variety. If any man should tell the defender that he is at liberty to understand certain words in Pope's writings, in the same sense that they were used by Chaucer or Spenser,

because *the meaning of words is arbitrary and changeable*, would he not say the man was mad?

He has nothing left then whereby to bring the case of the articles within the influence of his own reasoning, but his peculiar rules of interpretation; that is, such rules as are not applicable to any other writings or discourses whatever. And here, if I might have advised him, he should have kept himself, and made the most of his intrenchment. But this was by no means suitable to the enterprizing genius of our spirited champion. He boldly ventures to come out of his strong hold, and is going to shew, that this case is not peculiar, but like twenty other cases in civil commerce and conversation.

"That payment, says he, is honestly made, "which is reckoned according to the value "the money now bears, however it may have "varied since its first coinage."

The value of money is fixed by proper authority, to a certain and indubitable standard. It may be changeable, but it is not arbitrarily so. The value of money, whether of ancient or modern coinage, is always the same, at the same period of time, to every single subject, who is concerned either to make or to receive payments. Has the defender shewn that this is the case with his received sense of the articles? Does he pretend to shew it? What sort of an honest pay-master must he be who endeavours to palm these counterfeit senses upon us for true and current sterling?

"And truth is then fairly spoken, when each

"expression has the full weight for which it "generally passes."

Aye, so says *Escobar*, so says *Suarez*, and the rest of that fraternity. When a man is about to frame an equivocation, if he has the least hope that it should pass upon men of common understanding, he will be particularly careful that "each expression shall have "the full weight for which it generally passes." Which may very easily be done, and yet the speaker be understood by the hearer, in a meaning very different from the meaning which the speaker reserves to himself. But will any one (the defender and the abovementioned divines excepted) pretend to say, that "the truth is "then fairly spoken."—"It is possible, says a "late most ingenious and entertaining writer, "for a man to convey a lie in the words of "truth." This relates to the case of one Mr. *Dowling* in the history of *Tom Jones*, B. XVIII. chap. 8. If the defender will take the trouble to read that discourse of the said Dowling, to which Mr. Fielding applied this observation, he will easily see, that "each expression in it "has the full weight for which it generally "passes;" and yet it seems the man "did not "fairly speak the truth." This sententious observation therefore, will want some farther elucidation, before it passes for a parallel case to that of the payment of money, which is reckoned by him that pays it, and by him who receives it, at the same precise value.

"Nor are these changes of sense unusual "even in our most solemn forms. The pas-"sages of the Psalms or other scriptures, which

" make a part of our daily devotions, cannot " always be applied by every christian as they " were by the writers : and yet nothing could " be more contemptible than to object to them " on this account."

Agreed; if by *them* the Doctor means *the scriptures* that are so applied in our public service. It would indeed be most contemptible to object to the scriptures themselves, on this or any such account. The proper objection lies against the forms and devotions where the scriptures are so misapplied, and which oblige christians either to apply these scriptures improperly, or to forbear joining in those parts of our public worship, where these scriptures occur. An objection so just, and so far from contemptible, that I never yet met with a defender of our church that could yet fairly get rid of it. But what does the Doctor mean by this? May the scriptures by length of time, and change of circumstances, become ambiguous? Can custom take away the force of it, or give a new meaning to the expressions of scripture? Are there two or more different senses of scripture, distinguished by the characters of original and received, either of which a christian is at liberty to use? Common charity forbids me to ascribe such doctrine to any protestant divine. But then to what purpose is this observation?

By way of corollary to these demonstrations, the Doctor takes occasion to vindicate the english clergy from a certain "charge brought " against them, that having departed from the

" meaning of the articles, they all continue to " subscribe what none believes."

This is a matter of no little importance. I have all the honour and reverence for the calling of the english clergy, that it can be reasonable to demand. I greatly honour the persons and characters of great numbers of them, whom I believe to be learned, pious, wise and worthy men, and who, I know, give very different accounts of their inducements to subscribe. And though nothing gives me more pleasure, than to see so respectable a body of men vindicated properly from any false accusation brought against them; yet I humbly apprehend that in a charge of this nature, no single man can be sufficiently instructed to answer for the whole body: and I should think the best way would be to leave every person concerned, to speak for himself upon so nice a point as this.

Our defender is for *all* or *nothing*, and boldly pronounces that "not only the accu- " sation is false but the crime impossible. " That cannot be the sense of any declaration, " says he, which no one imagines to be the " sense; nor can that interpretation be erro- " neous, which all have received."

But if no one imagines the sense of the articles to be any other than that to which the english clergy subscribe; and if all have received that interpretation which the english clergy put upon the articles, the accusation must be as impossible as the crime. Whereas it appears by his own state of the charge, that whether the clergy subscribe the true sense of

the articles, is the very point at issue between the clergy and their accusers. And in my simple apprehension, the Doctor might have begged the question with a better grace in any part of his sermon, than just here, where the integrity of his brethren must stand or fall by the merit of his defence.

Whether the accusation be true or false, is not, as I said before, to be determined by any general evidence offered on the behalf of the whole body ; but must depend upon what every particular subscriber has to say to it for himself. But most certainly the crime is far from impossible. For have none of the clergy departed from the original sense of the articles? If not, the far greater part of this peculiar defence might have been spared. Is not the original sense of all writings in general, the true sense of those writings? Has public authority declared, has the defender proved, or can any man prove, that the original sense of the articles is not the true sense? And till this is proved, is not the charge in full force against every subscriber to our articles, who hath departed from the original sense? Or can any man be said to believe that sense from which he has departed?

But what then, you will say, is this received sense the Doctor speaks of, and which, as he tells us, is sufficiently confirmed by the twofold title, of long and quiet possession, and universal recognition? What is it? A childish bubble which the Doctor blows about for the diversion of himself and the spectators, till the moment you touch it, it breaks, disperses,

and mixes unseen and undistinguished, with the common mass of the circumambient atmosphere.

And let it break; the craftsman has the pipe in one hand, and the froth in the other, and can puff out more of the same sort in the twinkling of an eye.

For example. "This [indisputable title by "possession and recognition] is more than is "necessary to claim."

Hardly, for the vindication of the clergy, whose deviations from the original sense of their articles, can be justified on no other possible foundation.

"Yes, saith the defender, doubtful pretensions in these disputes, are equivalent to the "clearest."

Here we retreat once more into our fortress of *peculiarity*. With respect to the value of money, or the value of any thing else, but this received sense, such maxims as this, I am very sure, are neither good law nor good divinity. Doubtful pretensions in trials by a test equivalent to the clearest! 'Tis worth the while to look into the interpretation of this curious doctrine.

"It is sufficient to justify the use of any "explanation, that it has been openly declared, and not generally condemned. And "therefore, when an article has been understood by good and learned interpreters, in a "sense, neither the most obvious nor the most "usual; he who assents to it, is at liberty to "follow their guidance, or to join himself to "the multitude."

So saith the Doctor; but how this comes to be sufficient to justify such an explanation, or who it is that gives the liberty to use it, the Doctor saith not. The parties concerned in every subscription to the articles are two. The party who requires the subscription, and the party who subscribes. The former acts under a commission from those who prescribe the subscription, as a test of opinions; and hath, consequently, as the Doctor acknowledgeth, no authority to dispense with, or alter any thing about it. Have then the prescribers of subscription given any such liberty? No, not a word of it. The sense or meaning of the articles stands just as it did, for them, at the very beginning. The result is, that the subscriber takes the liberty in question, upon the same allowance, as a fair tradesman would take the liberty, in a payment of forty pounds nineteen shillings, to slip in one or more counters in the likeness of real guineas.

But let us hear him out. "When the expressions he must use, are ambiguous (and "they are made ambiguous by different explanations of them) what he affirms is in "part unknown."

Can this possibly be, "when each expression has the full weight for which it generally passes." Yes, very well, if you will extend this liberty to mental reserves and equivocations; but not otherwise. For who knows not, that the usual acceptation of words cuts off all concealment as well as all ambiguity in the commerce of honest and upright men.

But indeed the sense of this paragraph is as defective as the casuistry of it is detestable. " And so far as what the subscriber affirms, is " unknown, it cannot be false." Why no, worthy Doctor, nor true neither. How can any man form a belief that another does or does not depart from the truth, when what that other affirms is unknown?

The subscriber indeed is no loser by this. For the upshot is, that this mint-master of senses has put him into a condition, where, let him mean what he will, no man alive can blame, either his want of judgment, or his want of sincerity.

" Another use, says the Doctor may be made " of this variety of interpretations."

One use of it all the world sees. It enables a great many men to hold large and lucrative preferments, who, were they bound down to the true original sense of the articles, and who, if they could not find the means of taking more liberty than the law or the church gives them, would not be quite so much at ease in their possessions. But that this defender should find another use for this variety besides this, is surprising enough to those who consider, that, having first laid it down as a principle that the articles are a test of the subscribers opinions, he has fairly shewn, by contending for this variety of interpretations, that the articles are absolutely useless for any such purpose. The defender's other use however is this.

" This variety may help to explain the na- " ture and force of that assent which is given " to the articles; to shew, that it never was

" conceived to have so much rigour, as would " exclude all improvements from theology."

That is to say, one variety may help to explain another. The articles are, and are not, a test of opinions ; there is one variety ; and therefore you may, or may not assent to them, according to the circumstances you are in ; there is another. We meet with a sort of subscribers presently, who subscribe in *no sense at all*, but that of writing their names. Is it not reasonable to allow these to give *no assent* at all to the articles ?

What force every man gives to his own assent, is a point not to be debated by me ; but that it has been conceived to have so much rigour, in the intention of the injoyners of subscription, as to exclude all improvements in those points of theology to which the articles relate, is a matter of fact, which I think no man of learning, our defender excepted, would deny.

Not so conceived indeed by the compilers of the articles ; who most probably never conceived that any improvements could be made in theology beyond what they had made themselves. I say this, not only upon the credit of the histories and other writings which have transmitted their particular characters to us, but from the remarkable opposition our elder divines in all succeeding ages, have made to all discoveries in sacred literature, which have in any degree deviated from the established system. But all men of sense and discernment who have been inclined to favour such disco-

veries, have not only conceived such rigour in the intended assent, but have loudly complained of it. And this discernment is indeed the true father of that variety for which the defender is pleading ; a variety, begotten, not upon our legal mother the church, who to this hour disclaims it as a spurious offspring, but brought into being, and forced upon the church by a sort of violence, to which, though he touches upon it with great caution and tenderness, even our author himself appears not to be an absolute stranger.*

The Doctor indeed would persuade us that there is still legal room enough left for these improvements ; and this willingness to admit them deserves our thanks, at least, in such a writer as he is. But, alas ! it is but a willingness after all ; and though the Doctor gives us a specious account of the fact, his impotence in supporting it, leaves us still under the mortification of perceiving too plainly, the utter inconsistency between what is, and what only should be.

To set ourselves right therefore, and, if we can, the Doctor too, it may not be amiss to pay a little attention to these improvements in theology, of which he has made this honourable mention.

Improvements in theology are of two sorts : *artificial* and *real*. Artificial improvements in theology are made by building systems, partly upon passages of scripture ill understood, part-

* " With whatever violence it was at first introduced," &c. Sermon page 14.

ly upon some fantastical notions of things, which never had any existence, but in the brain of some crazy or conceited dreamer, who thought fit to call himself a philosopher.

Theological improvements, really such, consist in finding out, and shewing the true sense of those scriptures, upon which these systems are built; and in opposing to the philosophical jargon intermixed with them, the bright and clear mirror of the gospel. By these latter improvements, nine in ten of the systems in being (if something did not stand in the way, which is neither truth nor reason) would be reduced to heaps of rubbish.

If then you would make way for the effectual operation of these improvements, you must of necessity remove the systems which usurp their places, obstruct their free course, and debilitate their influence.

Instead of this, the defender proposes that as "new discoveries spring up, new explana-"tions of the old system should be gradually "framed, and adapted to it." A method so excessively preposterous, that I have chosen rather to represent it as a peculiar proposal of the defender's, than, as he himself has done, a method actually taken with our articles.

He is for having the articles still keep the ground they occupy. And so in God's name let them, if upon a fair and impartial examination, they shall be found to be true interpretations of scripture. But let candour itself judge whether his way of making room for new discoveries and improvements, does not clearly imply the contrary.

Is there then no way less absurd, less contradictory to truth, reason, scripture, &c. of admitting these improvements, and encouraging these discoveries, than what the defender speaks of? Probably, yes; but that is not the point. This kind of edifices are not wont to fall, without involving in their ruin numberless emoluments from which the sons of men derive unspeakable comforts and conveniencies. And therefore—all hands to work to prop, and whiten, and daub with untempered mortar; that whatever in the building itself is infirm, awry, and out of all proportion, may appear (at least to spectators placed at certain distances, and in peculiar attitudes) strong, upright, and in perfect symmetry. And thus we come by those "some things which every "commentator adds," and probably will keep adding "to the common stock," to the times of remote posterity; whom we cannot but felicitate, on the blessings they are likely to enjoy in explanations of explanations of explanations without end or number!

If it were possible for the Doctor to atone for this aukward defence (not of the church, for she is at the best but passively obedient to these expedients, and in her real character utterly disowns them, but) of modern subscribers; he would merit a little favour on account of the concession with which he closes this paragraph, viz. "If every minute difference would "oblige a man to dissent; for the same rea-"son every interpreter of our articles, and "perhaps every thinking man, must have dis-"sented also."

No difference, I apprehend, in matters of doctrine, between the scriptures, and articles merely human, can be so minute, as not to oblige a thinking man to dissent from the latter. And who knows but every thinking man (unless he is guided by fashion in this as well as other church-matters) should have dissented, and for this same reason? What men have done, and what they should have done, may be very different things. Concerning which one might perhaps learn some tidings of consequence, (not by consulting the defender, but) from those thinking men, who, having examined the articles before they subscribed them, would be ingenuous enough to inform us, how far they subscribed them *willingly ex animo*, and from a *real* and *sincere conviction* of their truth.

But to give all the scope that is possible to the thinking subscriber, he is told by the casuist, that "the liberty of adding new explana-"tions to the articles, is such as cannot be "precisely marked out."

Did I not foretel that the defender before we had done with him, would throw up his game? A page or two ago, "he would not "undertake to inquire what the limits of this "variety of interpretations ought to be. It "was sufficient if he could determine what "they are." Here he fairly confesses he knows as little of one as the other. An admirable advocate! who neither knows what the merits of his client's cause are, nor what they ought to be!

In vain does he endeavour to keep his own inefficiency in countenance, by appealing to the case of many moral rules, and all the rules of civil liberty.

" The liberty here mentioned, says he, is " such as cannot be precisely marked out, and " is therefore liable to abuse."

And is therefore most evidently *not* liable to abuse. No man can be justly charged with the abuse of his liberty, till you have marked out the limits of it. If there is any sort of liberty which has no limits, or what is the same thing, whose limits cannot be marked out, no man can be said to abuse such liberty, let him extend it ever so far. And to tell the public a secret of the Doctor's, which he wanted to conceal under the mask of a received sense; from this very supposition only of an unlimited liberty in subscribing, arises the impossibility of that crime, of which he attempts to acquit the english clergy.

" But many moral rules are liable to abuse, " which are nevertheless both reasonable and " useful: and so are all the rules of civil li- " berty, which are yet of the greatest impor- " tance to the happiness of mankind."

No manner of doubt of it; but it is for a contrary reason, namely, because the bounds of these rules may be precisely marked out. If the bounds of such rules could not be precisely marked out, offences against them could not be punished, because they could never be discovered; and what is still worse, the rules themselves would neither be reasonable, useful, nor of the least importance to the happiness

of mankind: which, as our author has defended it, seems to be much the case with subscription to our articles. What possible temptation could draw this man out of the fastnesses of his peculiarity?

Hitherto the reader is allowed to suppose, that the subscriber with all this liberty, is still bound to subscribe the articles in some sense. But the Doctor is now going to venture an observation on the subject, (and what is it, after what he has already ventured, that he may not venture besides?) by the benefit of which, liberty is given to some sorts of subscribers to subscribe, or assent to the articles, without putting any sense at all upon them.

His observation is this. "Not only the "propositions to which we assent, but the assent itself, may be differently understood. "The circumstances of the persons who give "it create this difference. It must be conceived to be given with more solemnity and "more exactness by him who professes to "study every branch of religious knowledge, "than by one engaged chiefly in other pursuits; by a man of mature judgment, than "by a youth just beginning to exercise his "reason. It is not necessary, that these distinctions should be made by public authority. The common sense of mankind will "introduce them."

By saying, "It is not necessary these distinctions should be made by public authority," the defender grants, that public authority hath not made them; and if public authority hath not made them, public authority

hath plainly excluded them. For who or what besides hath authority to introduce them? The common sense of mankind must be guided in this, as in all other cases, by plain facts. If public authority has injoined subscriptions in one precise form of words, and to one and the same collection of doctrines, without making or mentioning any allowances or distinctions, between youth and old age, minority or maturity, learning or ignorance, &c. nothing can possibly introduce such distinctions, but something superior to public authority. Of this kind perhaps may be the common sense of this learned man, but assuredly the common sense of mankind soars to no such pitch.

Young people are apt to do some rash and foolish things of their own motion, and to be led into others, by the wicked artifices of knaves and seducers. The wisdom of public authority has thought it necessary, in many of these cases, to preserve inadvertent youth from the fatal effects of its own folly and indiscretion, by making a legal distinction between the acts of a boy of sixteen, and those of a man of sixty, even where the acts are the very same. This distinction is made by voiding the act of the young man, and leaving that of the old one in its full obligation.

Common sense sees the reason of this, and approves it. But had not the distinction been actually made by public authority, all the common sense of all mankind, could not have made it appear, that what was only fit and reasonable to be done, was actually done.

Thus in the case of subscriptions; men of sense, considering the doctrines to be subscribed as consisting of many various and intricate points of theology, may perhaps think it equally fit and reasonable, that no greater obligation should be laid upon minors in the one case, than in the other. But here public authority acts a different part. It is not barely silent and permissive, but expressly prescribes the act of subscribing to young and old, novices and adepts, in the same terms; and considers and requires it as a security for a particular purpose, of equal obligation upon all alike who give it.

The common sense of mankind indeed, may possibly introduce one distinction between the obligations in question, and that is, a distinction made by that authority which is superior to the highest upon earth. That authority will doubtless distinguish properly, between the subscription of a child, who is incapable of acting otherwise in such a case, than by direction or compulsion, and the subscription of a man, who is capable of making an accurate judgment upon the nature, conditions and force of his own deliberate act. Whether such distinctions, so introduced, will in the end, be very honourable to the cause he is considering, is humbly recommended to the serious consideration of the defender himself.

As to the teaching children such creeds, or requiring those who are a little farther advanced in life to assent, in any degree, to such articles of man's device, "some parts of which "they will not understand till after many

" years, some perhaps never," the wisdom and propriety of both are so much of a piece, that I most willingly leave it those who are fond of the practice, to determine which of the two deserves the preference.

And here ends this most remarkable *defence of the subscriptions required in the church of England.* A defence conducted on such principles as manifestly tend to confound the common use of language, subvert the foundations of good faith in civil commerce, and to reduce the word of God to an ignominious level with the futile and unstable systems of weak and presumptuous men.

How it may fare with this protestant church of ours, should she ever adopt the Doctor's plan of subscription (which heaven forbid) is perhaps of some consequence to the public in an ecclesiastical view.

But it is of much more, that his peculiar rules of interpretation should be utterly expelled from every branch of civil intercourse between man and man. " For (to borrow the words of a venerable and much injured prelate in a late affecting and interesting appeal to the public:) " Let *truth* and *falsehood*, *integrity* " and *knavery*, *simplicity* and *fraud*, be de- " creed to be the same things; or (which is " all one) to have the same marks so strong " upon them, that they cannot be at all dis- " tinguished from one another; and when this " is the case, LET CIVIL SOCIETY SUBSIST IF " IT CAN."

THE END.

OCCASIONAL REMARKS

UPON SOME LATE

STRICTURES

ON

THE CONFESSIONAL:

PARTICULARLY IN A PAMPHLET, INTITULED,

DOUBTS CONCERNING THE AUTHENTICITY

OF THE LAST

PUBLICATION of the CONFESSIONAL, &c.

———*Quod cuique repertum*
Rimanti, telum IRA *facit.*——— VIRG.

[FIRST PRINTED MDCCLXVIII.]

OCCASIONAL REMARKS

UPON SOME LATE STRICTURES ON

THE CONFESSIONAL, &c.

THAT such a book as the Confessional should be permitted to make its way in the world without warm and vigorous opposition, could never be expected by any man who had the least acquaintance with the state and temper of the times in which it appeared. It would indeed have been a weak and unreasonable expectation in *any* times, which have afforded occasion for such inquiries. The subjects there treated of, are of great and public importance. It was fit they should be seriously, freely, and thoroughly examined: and if it should be found that the author's principles or his conclusions were destitute of all foundation, it was equally fit that his book should be consigned to contempt and oblivion.

The merits of the main question laid within a small compass, namely, "whether the "governors of protestant churches have a "right, upon the original principles of the "reformation, to establish confessions of faith "and doctrine, drawn up in the form of arti-

" ficial system, and in terms not clearly war-
" ranted by the scriptures, as tests of the or-
" thodoxy of the ministers officiating in such
" churches ?"

The first that appeared on the affirmative side of this question, in opposition to the Confessional, was the Reverend Dr. Rutherforth, who endeavoured to lodge the right of establishing such tests with the governors of particular churches, in virtue of a scriptural commission or appointment peculiar to their office and station.

To him succeeded the ingenious author of an *Essay on Establishments in Religion*, who thought proper to give the civil magistrate a share of authority, along with the superior clergy, in the establishing such tests; a point the Reverend Doctor abovementioned seemed to have overlooked.

These several theories underwent candid and sensible examinations from the masterly hand of the judicious Dr. Benjamin Dawson, who, hath laid both these schemes of church power, as these authors have drawn them out, under difficulties from which it will not be easy to disengage them, upon any principles consistent with the claims and professions either of those who first separated from the church of Rome, or of those who have since undertaken to justify that separation upon the surest grounds.

The Confessional, having, by the help of so able an auxiliary, and of some other intelligent and ingenuous friends of religious liberty, stood firm and unshaken by these more regular approaches, it became necessary to change

the method of attack, and, as hath been usual in other polemic operations, to harrass the author with a lighter kind of artillery, calculated to disparage his talents as a writer, and his probity as a man, and to make him contemptible and ridiculous, and if possible, scandalous.

Something of this tendency was slightly thrown out by the author of the *Essay on Establishments*, &c. But these little reflections having already fallen under the notice of the candid examiner of that essay, may, for the present, be passed by.

But who would have expected that the grave Dr. Rutherforth should condescend to engage in this kind of skirmish? or that he should introduce a formal defence of his charge with observing, that the Confessional was *eleven years in the author's training?* Perhaps, indeed, this may be a circumstance of more consequence than one would at first imagine. For the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Pye, in the Preface to his *Five Letters*, more lately published, hath thought it necessary to inform the world, with less certainty indeed as to the point of chronology, and a remarkable variation of the metaphor, that the author of the Confessional was *more than ten years brooding over it.*

Now admit one or other of these accounts (which of them you please) to be true, what would these gentlemen infer from such remarks to the disparagement of the author or his book? From every writer who publishes his sentiments on serious and important subjects, the public has a right to expect as much

accuracy as human infirmity in general, and the imperfections of particular men, will admit of. And the more time those writers take to compose, revise, and correct their performances, the more respect they shew for the public, for whose information or entertainment their labours are intended.

Possibly these gentlemen might mean, under *this* intimation, to convey *another* to their readers, that is to say, that they are writers of superior abilities, and could each of them have produced a bigger and a better book in the *eleventh* or *tenth* part of the time: which may be very true, but would have been hinted with a better grace by parties not so immediately interested to have it believed.

"ERASMUS, it is to be hoped, had too "much sense to value himself for reading and "composing faster than other people; but "there have been writers who have shewed "their vanity and their infirmity in boasting "of their inconceiveable abilities this way. "The design of such braggards is sometimes "partly to assure us how much they despise, "and how easily they can confute their anta-"gonists: but the trick is as stale as a rotten "egg, and the learned world is not to be so "duped. Θαυμαζα μωροις." *Life*, by Dr. *Jortin*, vol. 1. p. 403. And so much for *brooding* and *training*.

Previous to Mr. *Pye's Five Letters*, appeared a small pamphlet, intituled, *Doubts concerning the authenticity of the last publication of the Confessional*: the author of which does not seem to have entertained the least suspi-

cion, that the opportunity his retirement and his library afforded him of lashing the author of the Confessional, would be of the least disadvantage to the reputation either of himself or his performance; and yet during this employment of his learned leisure, he certainly was in the circumstances of a recluse. Why then is this cast off by Mr. Pye as a term of reproach to the author of the Confessional, not without a gird at the obscurity of his library?

No question but Mr. Pye thought the author of the *Doubts* more laudably employed than the author of the Confessional; but that consideration alone will not make the *Doubter* less a *recluse* while he was occupied in this labour of love, nor at all *inlighten* the *dark corners* of his library.

But it seems Mr. Pye has his reasons for thus characterising the author of the Confessional and his library more particularly, as these terms import that the said author "may be "somewhat mistaken in his opinion of men "and times, and not have fallen at last upon "the fittest season for communicating it to "the world." *Pref.* p. iv.

In my humble apprehension, the author of the Confessinal is under a small obligation to Mr. Pye for this last remark. It seems to carry along with it a concession that some season might be fit for communicating this opinion to the world. And this being pre-supposed, who is to be the judge of the fittest season? What if the author of the Confessional should think, as other good protestants do, that pleas for

christian liberty, and for the advancement of truth and sincerity in christian societies, are unfit at no season? If this sentiment is just, no man who entertains it can be far mistaken in his opinion of the men who discourage such pleas, or of the times which obstruct such advancement. If Mr. Pye is of a different judgment, he is not a proper person to chuse fit seasons for the author of the Confessional, and the numbers that think as he does.

That the author of the Confessional may not be frequently seen at the levees of great men, in carding parties, or other places of public resort where popular intelligence is stirring, is very possible. It may be his misfortune that he is not. But while he does his duty in his proper station, and gives honour to whom honour is due, it cannot be his fault that he does not intrude himself where his presence is neither wanted nor required; and it is not impossible that men even of study and retirement may have other means of learning what is doing in the world, and by whom.

The author of the *Doubts* has dropped several hints, that the author of the Confessional is, at the bottom, a favourer of popery. He calls him, with an ironical sneer, a *good protestant*, and ends his pamphlet with an insinuation, that the author of the Confessional is ready to run into the embraces of Father Philips. Here Mr. Pye kindly becomes his voucher, that an easiness towards popery is none of this author's failings, and cites some passages from the Confessional to prove it.

It is pity these gentlemen should not com-

municate their respective performances to each other, before they exhibit them to the public! Who knows, if one of these writers should continue in this doubting humour, but he may, at some time, doubt whether Mr. Pye did not cite the fragment he produces of bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times, from a spurious or a mutilated copy? Some people indeed have thought, that, had he given the passage as it stands in the authentic editions of that history, common justice would have required, that he should chastise bishop Burnet for the same offence which puts him so grievously out of temper with the author of the Confessional.

But however Mr. Pye might think fit to treat the author of the Confessional, let justice be done to Mr. Pye. Let us acknowledge the seasonable and essential service he has done to the protestant cause, by so much of his Five Letters as concerns popery and popish writers. He deserves the thanks of all good protestants for it. And he would have deserved them no less, had he reserved his strictures on the author of the Confessional for some other occasion. Will not some of his protestant readers be ready to ask, what have such strictures to do there? Does Mr. Pye mean that no body should write against popery, without his canonical permission? And, considering the horrid, but very just picture he has drawn of the church of Rome, with what propriety can he blame the author of the Confessional for desiring that the church of England may keep as far out of her way as possible?

The *Critical Reviewers* speak of the author of the *Doubts* abovementioned as an *ingenious writer;* and so far I agree with them. No one but a writer of some genius could fabricate such doubts out of such materials. The thing to be regretted is, that the wit bestowed upon them, light as it is, should so far outweigh the importance of them. So far as I can see, they might all be admitted for just and true without the least damage to the argument of the Confessional. For what do we learn from them, but that the author of that book is, in some instances, a fallible, and, if you will, a careless, in others, a confident writer? In some instances he hath made mistakes; in others, he hath presumed to be of his own opinion, without asking leave of the Doubter and his associates.

But when the said reviewers add, that *the passages in question are fairly cited and compared,* I must beg leave to dissent from them, and to enter an appeal to the public, on the behalf of the author of the Confessional.

For example. "You tell us" (says the *Doubter*, addressing himself to the author of the Confessional,) "p. xxix. of the preface to "the first edition, that king Charles II. PROMISED, in his Declaration from Breda, two "things concerning religion; the first of which "was, *a quite new model of the church of England.* Doubts, p. 2.

The words, however, of that Preface are these: "Charles II. published a Declaration "at Breda, *giving* the presbyterians *to understand* two things, &c." Now, unless it is impossible that people should be *given to un-*

derstand, or *made to expect* any thing, except by a *promise* in express words, the author of the Confessional may still be in the right, and even justified by the passages cited in the *Doubts* from this Declaration. For if it may be proved, 1. that the presbyterians did actually understand by the Declaration from Breda, that there would be *a quite new model of the church of England;* and 2. that the king himself intended that this they should understand by it, no room will be left for cavils on this head.

To the first point let us hear Richard Baxter. "In the deep sense of this danger," says he, "I set myself to try, whether terms of "possible concord might be obtained; the "London ministers joyned; the king greatly "encouraged us; first by his *Declaration at "Breda.*" *Baxter's Life by Sylvester, Appendix*, 120.

And to these terms of *possible concord* the Declaration from Breda plainly pointed; viz. "And because the passion and uncharitable-"ness of the times have produced several opi-"nions in religion by which men are engaged "in parties and animosities against each other, "which, *when they shall hereafter unite in a "freedom of conversation, will be composed or "better understood;* we do declare a liberty to "tender consciences," &c.

But Baxter and the London ministers very well knew, that neither these parties and animosities could be composed, nor any terms of possible concord obtained, without a quite new * model of the church of England. And that

* Perhaps the word *model* may give offence to the Doubter. The author of the Confessional, however, has pretty good authority for

this indeed was the sense of all sorts, appears from the free conversation the same London ministers had with the king, concerning terms of possible concord, when as yet they had no public encouragement to propose such terms, but what they understood the Declaration from Breda had given them. *Baxter's Life*, Part II. p. 230, 231, &c.

But it may be said, "the presbyterians mis-"understood this Declaration." Let us then inquire how the king intended they should understand it.

1. Along with the Declaration from Breda, cited by the *Doubter*, and of the same date, came a letter from his majesty to the speaker of the house of commons (Whitelock, p. 702, calls it his message and declaration to the house of commons,) wherein his majesty says, "we "hope, in due time, ourself to propose some-"thing to you for the propagation of it", [the protestant religion,] "that will satisfy the "world, that we have always made it our care "and our study, and have enough observed, "what is most like to bring disadvantage to "it." We shall see presently, that what his majesty had to propose, was *a quite new model of the church of England.*

2. His majesty's declaration concerning ec-

using it on this occasion, even that of Lord Clarendon, by whom we are informed that "a committee was appointed before his majesty's "return to debate and prepare the MODEL for religion." Continuation of his Life, 8vo. vol. II. p. 17. If this committee was appointed upon the Lords *desiring that some way may be considered to make up the breaches* (see Whitelock, p. 702. under May 1, 1660,) it was immediately occasioned by his majesty's letters and declarations from Breda; and affords a full justification of the author of the Confessional *in terminis*.

clesiastical affairs bears date October 25, 1660. In this Declaration we read as follows. "When "we were in Holland, we were attended by "many grave and learned ministers from "hence, who were looked upon as the most "able and principal assertors of the presbyte- "rian opinions, with whom we had as much "conference as the multitude of affairs which "were then upon us would permit us to have; "and, to our great satisfaction and comfort, "found them full of affection to us, of zeal "for the peace of the church and state, and "neither enemies (as they have been given "out to be) to episcopacy or liturgy, but mo- "destly to desire such alterations in either, "as, without shaking foundations, might best "allay the present distempers which the in- "disposition of the time, and the tenderness "of some men's consciences, had contracted; "for the better doing whereof we did intend, "upon our first arrival in this kingdom, to "call a synod of divines, as the most proper "expedient to provide a proper remedy for all "those differences and dis-satisfactions which "had or should arise in matters of religion; "and *in the mean time* we published, in our "declaration from Breda, a liberty to tender "consciences, &c."

So then we see the *liberty to tender consciences*, published in the declaration from Breda, was granted as a kind of *interim*, till a proper remedy for all those differences and dissatisfactions which had arisen, or should arise, in matters of religion, could be provided. Thus the presbyterians, as we have seen, understood this declaration from Breda, and in conse-

quence of so understanding it were encouraged to propose their terms of possible concord; and as appears from the king's own testimony, if they had not so understood it, they would not have understood it as his majesty intended they should understand it.

To proceed. The calling of a synod of divines appearing to his majesty not to be a proper expedient for the purpose of composing these differences and dissatisfactions at the time this declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs was published, for reasons therein given, his majesty takes it upon himself to give some determination, by way of concessions to the presbyterians and other scrupulous ministers. And, lest it should be thought that these concessions were different from the proposal meditated at Breda, his majesty puts that matter out of dispute in the following words. "To "conclude, and in this place to explain what "we mentioned before, and said in our letter "to the house of commons from Breda, that "we hoped in due time ourself to propose some-"what for the propagation of the protestant "religion, &c.—We conjure all our loving "subjects to acquiesce in, and submit to, this "our declaration concerning those differences, "which have so much disquieted the nation at "home, and given such offence to the protes-"tant churches abroad."

It remains now only to be considered, whether these alterations and concessions did not amount to *a quite new model of the church of England?*

And here, to avoid prolixity, I must refer the reader for particulars to the declaration it-

self, and request him to compare them with the old model, as it was left by the bishops of king Charles I. The last of these concessions, indeed, the sort of men with whom the author of the Confessional hath to do, obliges me to put down at full length.

"And because some men, otherwise pious "and learned, say, they cannot conform unto "the subscription required by the canon, nor "take the oath of canonical obedience, we are "content, and it is our will and pleasure (so "they take the oaths of allegiance and supre-"macy,) that they shall receive ordination, in-"stitution, and induction, and shall be per-"mitted to exercise their function, and to en-"joy the profits of their livings, without the "said subscription or oath of canonical obe-"dience. And moreover, that no persons in "the universities shall, for want of such sub-"scription, be hindered in the taking of their "degrees. Lastly; that none be judged to "forfeit his presentation or benefice, or be de-"prived of it, upon the statute of the thirteenth "of queen Elizabeth, chapter the twelfth, so "he read and declare his assent to all the ar-"ticles of religion, *which only concern the con-"fession of the true christian faith, and the "doctrine of the sacraments*, comprised in the "book of articles in the said statute menti-"oned."

Now, if this concession *alone* is not *a quite new model of the church of England*, I must insist upon it that those gentlemen who have accused the author of the Confessional of attempting to subvert the church of England *a fundamentis*, only for proposing to have the

canonical subscription to the xxxix articles taken away, are widely mistaken.

Great as my regard is for the author of the *Doubts*, I freely own I have not taken all these pains on his account only. The last cited passage gives me an opportunity of paying my respects to a more considerable personage, under whose standard the *Doubter* may possibly have inlisted.

This little collection of *Doubts* made its appearance like one of those dwarfs recorded in ancient romance, who strutted into the lists immediately before the giant, partly to set off the amplitude of his person, and partly to bear some part of his light armour. Accordingly this diminutive writer having vapoured about a while, in stalks a *terræ-filius* exhibiting his defiance, under the title of *A letter to the author of the Confessional, containing remarks on the Preface to his first edition.* In this letter the concessions and alterations in king *Charles IId's Declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs* are thus represented.

"The king was, in the main, for restoring "the establishment, as it was before the year "1640; yet in testimony of his desire of peace "and union, if by such means it could be ob- "tained, he consented to restrain the episco- "pal jurisdiction, to permit the liturgy to be "altered, and to indulge the scrupulous in se- "veral instances, with respect to ceremonies "and ecclesiastical habits." p. 47.

Warily, good Sir! Take heed how you go on; not a syllable of removing the bulwark of subscriptions for ever so much, lest somebody

should ask, how the establishment stood in this main point before the year 1640?

And then again, *if by such means it could be obtained.* But why are we not told what prevented its being obtained by *such means?* For a very good reason. That circumstance belongs to the defence of the Preface. And, as the representation now stands, you may, if you please, ascribe this prevention to the obstinacy of the presbyterians. Bishop Burnet, however, shews a fairer side of them. "The Earl "of Clarendon," says his lordship, "got the "king to publish a Declaration, soon after his "restoration, concerning ecclesiastical affairs, "to which if he had stood, very probably the "greatest part of them might have been gain-"ed."——So then this treaty of peace and union did not miscarry on the side of the presbyterians. But pray, why did not the king stand to his declaration? The historian honestly tells us. "The bishops did not approve "of it." Hist. O. T. Fol. vol. I. p. 178.

But, lest bishop Burnet's authority should be disputed, let us hear what account the presbyterians themselves give by the pen of Richard Baxter, in a petition intended to be presented to the king, about the year 1675.

"And the grief of our souls for the present "divisions doth call up our thankful remem-"brance—that your majesty published so gra-"cious a declaration of ecclesiastical affairs, "as, *had it lived, had prevented our present* "*distractions;* yea, that your house of commons "gave your majesty the [their] public thanks "for your healing means; though some now "take all our divisions and distractions to be

"a smaller evil than the terms of that your "majesty's declaration would be." Baxter's Life, Part III. p. 564. [misnumbered for 164.]

This is a specimen of the many artifices with which this letter abounds. What a pleasant variety of *doubts* might a man form out of it, who should be blessed with the happy vein of the facetious artist upon the carpet? In sober sadness, these softeners do by no means become so solemn a reprover of disingenuity, and so magisterial a corrector of false history.

The next offence that is given to the Doubter is, that the author of the Confessional does not pay due respect to the authorities of Heylin and Plaifere concerning the declaration at the head of the xxxix articles.

What Plaifere says amounts only to this, that the said declaration was prefixed to the articles in his time, and had King Charles's authority, which will by no means prove that it was not there in the foregoing reign, or that it had not King James's authority as well as King Charles's. Suppose the *Doubter* should have occasion to say, in some of his learned labours, "moreover the King's most excellent "Majesty *that now is*, in his proclamation for "the encouragement of piety and virtue, &c." would he expect that posterity should take this for sufficient proof that this proclamation was *not* published by any of his majesty's royal predecessors?

Doctor Heylin indeed exhibits this declaration from a book intituled *Bibliotheca Regia*, which was probably a collection of public rescripts of several sorts, during the reign of King Charles; some of which, for aught that

appears, might only have been republished in this collection, as what king Charles might think fit to confirm by his own authority, though first issued in his father's reign.

Be that as it may, the works of both these writers were extant in the days of bishop Burnet and Dr. Nichols; and as neither of the latter seem to have paid any regard to these testimonies, the authorities of Plaifere and Heylin could not preclude the author of the Confessional from the liberty of choosing his party in the matter in difference between the bishop and Dr. Nichols; which he hath done, one would have thought, with sufficient diffidence to have protected him from the insult of any one pretending to the name of a scholar and a gentleman.

"But," as the *Doubter* goes on, "this is "not the point;" and a much more formidable accusation is brought against the author of the Confessional.

"In your's" (meaning, in the copy of the declaration used by the author of the Confessional,) "it seems his majesty does not say, "that he had caused a declaration made and "published by himself, for the purposes men- "tioned in the proclamation, to be printed "and published along with the thirty-nine ar- "ticles." *Doubts*, p. 5.

To judge of the fairness of this citation, we must put down the passage as it stands in the Confessional, p. 132, note, Ed. 2.

"You will say perhaps, and why might not "this originally be King Charles's own *De-* "*claration?* I answer, it might be so; but if "it was, it is unaccountable his majesty should

" not say, IN THE PASSAGE ABOVE-CITED, he " had caused a Declaration made and published " by himself, for the purposes mentioned in " the proclamation, to be printed and pub- " lished along with a new edition of the thirty- " nine articles."

Now so it happens, that the *passage above-cited*, was not from the *Declaration* before the articles, but from the *Proclamation* calling in the copies of Montague's *Appello Cæsarem*, mentioned p. 131. Had the *Doubter* given the least hint of *a passage above-cited*, the reader perhaps might have gone to the Confessional to look for it, which would have been absolute destruction to the *Doubt*. The *Doubter* therefore, in his great *accuracy* and *clearness*, thought fit to drop this little clause as nothing to his purpose.

The next doubt is one of the most extraordinary in the whole collection. According to Rushworth, the house of Commons put the very same construction upon his majesty's declaration that Sir John Elliot did; and, in consequence of that construction, entered into a remarkable vow, plainly to guard against the design of the Declaration, and to take care that *the power of religion might not be left to the persons of those men* to whom the Declaration left it. Rushworth, vol. 1. p. 649, 650.

Let us now attend to the words of the Declaration which may be supposed to have given occasion to this construction, which I transcribe from Dr. Heylin's copy (taken from the *Bibliotheca Regia* above-mentioned), now lying before me.

"That out of our princely care that the "*church-men may do the work which is proper* "*unto them*, the bishops and clergie, from time "to time, upon their humble desire, shall have "licence, under our broad seal, to deliberate "of, and to do all such things, as being made "plain by them, and assented unto by us, "shall concern the settled continuance of the "doctrine and discipline of the church of Eng-"land established; from which we shall not "endure any variation or departing in the "least degree." Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 188, 189.

The question is, from *what* the king would not endure any variation or departing in the least degree?

The *Doubter* answers, "in the *doctrine* of "the church, he declares he will admit of no "variation from what was ALREADY establish-"ed." *Doubts*, p. 9.

In an evil hour for his cause did the *Doubter* refer us to Heylin's transcript of this Declaration from *Bibliotheca Regia;* for, alas! neither the word NOW in the passage as cited by the *Doubter*, nor the word ALREADY, as in his comment, is to be found in the said transcript.

Indeed, in bishop Sparrow's collection of *Articles*, *Injunctions*, &c. and in the common editions, the words are—"of the church of "England NOW established," which was probably first put there to accommodate matters to the act of uniformity of 1662. But the Declaration with which we have to do, is that and that only under the consideration of the house of Commons in 1628, of which this from Dr.

Heylin must be taken for an authentic copy, till the contrary is proved. The omission of the word NOW in Heylin's copy can hardly pass for an error of the pen or the press; for the word ALREADY, which is in Sparrow's copy below, is not to be found in that given by Heylin. The author of the Confessional indeed (then probably unapprised of this very remarkable difference between the copies) appeals to the Declaration, *as we now have it;* and surely with sufficient reason, upon the supposition that the Declaration must be consistent with itself.

For, admit the word NOW to have been in the original Declaration in the sense of *already*, what things were the bishops and clergy in convocation to deliberate of, what were they to do or to make plain from time to time, respecting either doctrine or discipline, seeing his majesty would not endure any *varying in the least degree* from what was *now* or *already* established?

"The external policy of the church," says the *Doubter;* and strains hard to find a distinction between *external policy* and *essential discipline.* But all in vain; the word *essential* is his own interpolation, and in the passage quoted above from the Declaration, doctrine and discipline go hand in hand. If the churchmen might not vary the doctrine, neither might they vary the discipline already established; and then, there being *no work proper unto church-men* to be done, upon what was his majesty's princely care to be employed?

But if the discipline might be varied, so might the doctrine too under the same restric-

tions. The consequence is, that *that* from which his majesty would not endure any variation in the least degree, was the result of the clergy's deliberations, what they should do, or what they should make plain, from time to time, concerning the settled continuance both of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England. The plain english of which our sensible ancestors of those times knew to be, that the king's sanction to these convocational acts being pre-supposed, concerning which there was no question to be made, no man would be allowed to vary in the least degree, either in doctrine or discipline, from what the clergy should please to make plain; an expression which sufficiently pointed out the tendency of the Declaration to the house of Commons, and still points it out to every reader who is at all acquainted with the history of those times.

In the Confessional, p. 30, 2d. Ed. is this note: "the late bishop Conybeare, in his famous subscription sermon, argues from the "consent required by the apostles to their doctrines, to the consent required by succeeding church-governors to human articles."

For which the author is thus taken to task: "bishop Conybeare is apt to lay a sure foundation, and to build regularly and firmly "upon it. His stile and manner of building "are indeed, as masters differ, not much like "the Confessional; but such as they are in his "other productions, such they appear in this "sermon, in which, *as I have it*, there is not "any the least trace of such argumentation as "is here imputed to him." *Doubts*, p. 11.

I must own, I am one among those who have thought the text of every good sermon to be the foundation of the preacher's doctrine contained in it. Bishop Conybeare's text at the head of his sermon on subscription is, as I remember (for I have not the sermon at hand,) 1 Tim. vi. 3, 4. *If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing.*

Now, what can be built upon this foundation to authorise the requiring consent to *any* articles of religion, without some proof that they who require such consent, act by the same authority that the apostle Paul did in requiring consent to the *wholesome words* mentioned in the text?

This is so natural and proper a question upon the occasion, that the *Doubter* himself endeavours to break the force of it, by saying, "and "yet, as a true scholar does not judge of a "discourse by reading only the title and text, "nor a fair critic report that it contains what "it does not contain, here is a difficulty which "I know not how to solve;"——why truly, nor I neither; for if a sermon hath no trace in it of what a true scholar or fair critic would expect from the title and the text, it will be very difficult to conceive, that the preacher's foundation should be surely laid, and much more that what he builds upon it should be regular and firm. But this, it seems, is bishop Conybeare's manner of building, in which I dare venture to say, the author of the Confessional hath no ambition to follow him. Is it

for the honour of bishop Conybeare, either as a divine or a reasoner, to suppose he took for granted a point of such indispensable consequence to the cause he was pleading in that sermon, as apostolical authority?

The author of the Confessional, p. 310. 2d. edition, hath unwarily said, that "Dr. Waterland recommended bishop Sanderson's Nine "Cases of Conscience in his *Advice to young* "*Students.*" It is a palpable mistake; and whether incurred by misinformation or misapprehension, the effect of an highly blameable negligence, inasmuch as it is no small reflection upon the said Doctor, to suppose him to have been so injudicious as to recommend that kind of sophistical jargon as a proper study for the younger part of the university. Nor indeed, notwithstanding Mr. Boyle's high opinion of bishop Sanderson's casuistical talents, can I commend Dr. Waterland's judgment in recommending the said bishop's *Prælections to young students.*

This, however, will not excuse the author of the Confessional for his incautious imputation. But I will venture to say for him, that had he been apprised of his error, he would readily have acknowledged and corrected it in the second edition of his book, with thanks for the information, even though conveyed in no gentler terms than those of the *Doubter.*

The next occasion of doubt arises from hence, that whereas Dr. Waterland had said, "By *compilers* I mean those that composed the "creeds, articles, or other forms received in "our church. By *imposers* I understand the "governors in church and state for the time

" being :" the author of the Confessional, remarking upon a passage immediately following this description of compilers and imposers, and where the word imposers was used, had said, " by imposers, I apprehend must be meant " the ministerial imposers, that is, the bishops, " they being the persons appointed by law to " take this security of subscription, on behalf " of the church."

Upon which, thus the *Doubter*. " Now the " bishops not being *governors in church and* " *state for the time being*, it is evident that " the Doctor could not confine his view to " them, when he first composed this, and in- " deed some of the following chapters." *Doubts*, p. 15.

But to whatever the Doctor confined his view, the passage cited from him confines his meaning to some persons under the name of imposers, distinct from the governors in church and state collectively; as that passage exhibits a case in which the governors in church and state collectively, cannot be considered as imposers.

For having said, " by imposers I under- " stand the governors in church and state for " the time being," the Doctor immediately goes on thus. " The sense of the compilers, barely " considered, is not always to be observed, " but so far only, as the natural and proper " signification of the words, and the intention " of the imposers, binds it upon us."

Here then a subscriber wants to know, how far, in a particular case, he is bound to observe the sense of the compilers, *barely considered!* What is he to do? He hesitates concerning the

natural and proper signification of the words, and there remains nothing to determine him but the intention of the imposers. And where shall he find these imposers? Shall he go to the governors in church and state collectively, or, what is the same thing, in their legislative capacity, for a resolution of his scruple? Suppose this to be practicable, the answer would be, "You are mistaken in your application, "we impose or bind nothing upon you but the "act of subscribing the articles of religion. If "you want to know any thing concerning "senses and intentions, with respect to parti- "cular articles, you must apply elsewhere." Now, if there really were no imposers to signify this intention to the scrupulous subscribers, it was absurd in Dr. Waterland to propose a case where the intervention of such imposers was made necessary; and, in my humble opinion, the author of the Confessional does not injure Dr. Waterland's reputation, in apprehending that the Doctor must have meant the bishops, considered as ministerial imposers, as there was no other way of saving the Doctor from the imputation of glaring impropriety.

In what then has the author of the Confessional been to blame, unless it is, that he did not censure Doctor Waterland, for writing with so little precision, and omitted to entertain his readers with some ingenious *Doubts* concerning the Doctor's view, in omitting to make a distinction where he ought to have made it?

The next article of impeachment is, that the author of the Confessional is uncertain in one place, and certain in another, who compiled

king Edward VI's articles of religion; which is thus introduced.

"When you are arguing against bishop Bur-
"net, who believed our articles to be framed
"by Cranmer and Ridley, you represent it as
"an uncertain point by whom they were com-
"posed." *Doubts*, p. 16.

Observe, candid reader: the gentleman does not say, though he would have you think he means, that the author of the Confessional argues against that belief of bishop Burnet. He only tells you, that the author of the Confessional argues against bishop Burnet, who believed—many things, no question, besides the proposition against which the author of the Confessional is arguing.

The bishop had said that, "the compilers of
"our articles resolved on composing them
"with great temper in many points." But of two methods of compiling the articles, the bishop thinks one of them barely more probable than the other; which leaves it uncertain, in the bishop's opinion, by whom, as well as in what manner they were compiled. Whereupon the author of the Confessional remarks, with respect to this uncertainty of the bishop, that, "it might be the other way;" and asks, by way of argument *ad hominem*, "under this
"uncertainty, who can pretend to say with
"what temper they were composed, or by
"what views and considerations the composers
"were influenced?" Reasoning thus against the bishop's opinion (and against that only,) that "the articles were composed with great
"temper in many points," for which assertion his lordship, being under such uncertainty,

how and by whom the articles were compiled, could have no sufficient foundation.

But the author of the Confessional, expressing his own sentiments in his argument against Dr. Nichols, adopts bishop Burnet's opinion, so far as relates to Cranmer, as a certainty, without the least hesitation, and by this opinion he abides; having indeed never given the least colour to question his own certainty about the matter, till the Doubter by sophisticating his argument against bishop Burnet thought fit so to misrepresent him.

The *doubter* goes on. "In an argument levelled against Dr. Bennet, I find this remark upon some position of the said Doctor, that it is contrary to his repeated interpretations in his directions, against the confinement of the words themselves; and contrary to his majesty's Declaration." *Doubts*, p. 18.

I pass over the fairness of this citation, as a matter of no great moment, and only observe that the last words are brought as inconsistent with what the author of the Confessional had said elsewhere, namely, that the king's Declaration is a rescript of no manner of validity.

Would not the *Doubter* be understood that this Declaration was of force when Dr. Bennet wrote his Essay? and that therefore he was then at liberty to refer to it, as a public instrument of legal authority? This, however, the Doctor does, by arguing, after citing a passage from it, that "the sense of the subscription does and must continue the same, and necessarily imply a belief of the truth of the articles." *Essay*, p. 423.

It is true, Dr. Bennet concludes thus from a position, that, "all our laws do speak this "language without the least variation to this "day." But if the author of the Confessional knows of no such laws, he is sufficiently justified in denying the validity of this Declaration, upon the authority of those laws now in full force, which do endure variation from the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and have taken off the penalties heretofore enacted for such variation, namely, the laws tolerating protestant dissenters, and superseding the church's censure in the commission ecclesiastical mentioned in the Declaration.

The case standing thus, whatever opinion the author of the Confessional might entertain of the validity of this Declaration, as it was, in the opinion of Dr Bennet, of full force when he wrote upon the articles, his contradiction in one place to its contents, which he had in another acknowledged to be authoritative, was properly urged as an instance of the said Doctor's fluctuating casuistry on the subject of subscribing to the thirty-nine articles. The author of the Confessional hath, in the same passage, observed Dr. Bennet's contradiction to his own directions. Is it necessary, to make that author consistent with himself, that he should approve of those directions?

Next followeth another charge of inconsistency to this effect: "The author of the Con- "fessional has argued against the restrained "sense that Dr. Nichols had put upon the "XXIIId. article, namely, that, by those

" men who are there mentioned to have pub-
" lic authority given unto them in the con-
" gregation, to call and send ministers into
" the Lord's vineyard, the compilers meant
" bishops only, and has contended for a more
" general sense of that article, taking in the
" ministers of other congregations, whether
" called and sent by bishops or not. But the
" same author of the Confessional has else-
" where argued against admitting general
" senses; or putting any latitude upon any of
" the articles, binding down subscribers to the
" strict and restrained sense of the compilers.
" And consequently is inconsistent with him-
" self." See *Doubts*, p. 19—23.

This, I think, is the substance of the *Doubt*, which the reader may see drawn out into an artful and circumstantial detail in the *Doubts*, as above-cited.

Without spending time in criticising this detail, which, however, is a fair mark, let us content ourselves with exhibiting a plain state of the case.

Bishop Burnet had said that the compilers of the articles " had resolved to compose them " with great temper in many speculative points." *Hist. Reform.* vol. II. p. 169.

This opinion has been adopted by many succeeding divines of different denominations, who accordingly have put in their claim for a latitude of interpretation of the articles with respect to such points, under different modifications.

One of these divines was Dr. Nichols, who supported his opinion that the articles were

purposely drawn up in general terms, on the consideration that the compilers and first subscribers had been differently educated, and, consequently, were differently principled with respect to these speculative points.

To this the author of the Confessional, who thought that none of the articles were purposely drawn up in general terms, opposes a matter of fact, namely, that the articles were drawn up by Cranmer and perhaps some few of his particular friends of the same judgment in these speculative matters with himself: and the author accounts for the subscribers of those days acquiescing in the sense of those compilers, from inducements which may be supposed to have prevailed with some other subscribers in the same circumstances in more modern times.

The reader will be pleased here to observe, that the question is concerning the sense of the compilers, in points wherein protestants might differ without departing from the principles of their common profession.

But though these divines contend that some of the articles were drawn up in general terms on purpose to admit of different senses, yet none of them hold that this was the case with all of them; and Dr. Nichols himself says, that "any person who believes the popish doctrines "of *purgatory*, *transubstantiation*, *invocation* "*of saints*, *&c.* cannot sincerely subscribe to "these articles which do expressly condemn "these doctrines." Which plainly implies that, even in the Doctor's opinion, none of these articles will admit of the latitude contended for.

And indeed, it would have been very strange, if *protestant* compilers had composed XXXIX articles of religion, with a view of condemning the doctrines of popery, and yet that there should be none among these articles which protestants of all denominations could subscribe, in the same uniform sense in which the compilers intended they should be understood.

No protestant, for instance, of whatever denomination, will scruple to assent to the sixth of these articles, affirming that *holy scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, &c.* which was opposed to the popish doctrine, that holy scripture doth *not* contain all things necessary to salvation, as not containing the traditions and interpretations of the church.

Of the same sort is the latter period of the XXIIId article. Popery teaches, that no man can have a lawful vocation to minister in any congregation, unless he is called and sent by the church of Rome with the pope at its head.

The compilers of the XXIIId article, on the contrary, assert, that, "we ought to judge "those lawfully called and sent, which be "chosen and called to this work by men who "have public authority given unto them in the "congregation, to call and send ministers in-"to the Lord's vineyard."

This being so, to suppose the compilers to have limited this authority to a congregation of episcopalians only, would be to suppose them to have renounced the authority of the pope of Rome, that they might set up the authority of a pope of their own in some other place.

Yet for this limitation Dr. Nichols contends; and his reason is, that the article was composed by episcopal men. Whereupon the author of the Confessional returns upon him his own supposition, that other articles were expressed in general terms, accommodated to the different education and principles of the several subscribers, some of whom, he tells us, were not a little wedded to Calvin's form of church discipline.

In what, now, in all this, is the author of the Confessional inconsistent, unless his adopting Dr. Nichols's inconsistency is a necessary consequence of his exposing it? Or unless those may be called general terms purposely contrived in a protestant article, which will admit of no different senses but where one side must renounce protestant, and espouse popish principles.

The author of the Confessional had said, p. 100, ed. 2d.—"It is not clear, to me at least, "that he [bishop Burnet] thought even the "imputation of idolatry, occasioned by the "worship of the Son, a sufficient reason for "adding the words, *of the same substance* "*with the Father*, to the creeds of the chris-"tian church."

But the Doubter will have it that this was clear to the author of the Confessional, and insinuates that the said author was only playing the jesuit, and, to support his charge, cites a long passage from bishop Burnet, which he thinks, I suppose, puts the matter out of dispute. *Doubts*, p. 23–25.

But had the *Doubter* done what the author of the Confessional did, and cast his eye towards the top of the page of bishop Burnet's introduction from whence he took this citation, he might, with a little consideration, have saved himself the trouble of transcribing so much of what he found below.

The bishop there says, "It had been an un- "valuable blessing, if the christian religion "had been kept in its first simplicity."

Suppose bishop Burnet had been asked where the christian religion in its first simplicity might be found? I take it for granted he would have answered, in the new testament. Suppose it had been farther demanded of him, whether the words in question, applied as they were in the creeds, were to be found in the new testament? He must have answered in the negative; and have owned at the same time, that these creeds deviated in this article from the first simplicity of the christian religion. If therefore the bishop thought the reasons given in the *Doubter's* long citation sufficient to justify the addition of those words, he must have thought that addition a blessing equally valuable at least, as the keeping the christian religion in its first simplicity. For if the christian religion was more valuable before than after the addition, no reasons in the world could be sufficient to justify the making it. What the bishop's sentiments were as to the *blessing* of this addition, may be seen in the reflections he makes upon the consequences of it, which immediately follow the *Doubter's* citation.

I lay no great stress here upon what bishop Burnet knew as well as any one, that the addition of the word ὁμοούσιον to the creed does not appear to have been made upon the considerations mentioned by his lordship. The word was adopted by the Nicene council, which was summoned to settle the disputes that had arisen between Alexander, bishop of Alexandria and Arius, upon what occasion is not known. (*Incertum qua occasione*, says Mosheim. Inst. Hist. Eccles. p. 165.)—I lay no great stress, I say, upon this, because I am not disputing with bishop Burnet, but with the author of the Doubts. This however may be inferred from it, that if the reason suggested by the bishop was not sufficient to justify the addition, his lordship knew of none else that would be.

What wonder then that the author of the Confessional, laying these things together, and knowing bishop Burnet's manner of stating arguments on all subjects that came before him, should take the liberty of expressing his doubts on this as other men may do on other subjects; whether the bishop was not, in this long passage, rather offering the best reason he could think of on the behalf of those who introduced into the creed these additional words, than offering this reason as sufficient in his own opinion to warrant such addition, which indeed he can hardly be supposed to have done consistently with his declaring, that *it had been an unvaluable blessing, if the christian religion had been kept in its first simplicity.*

The next occasion given to the *Doubter* by the author of the Confessional, arises from

what the latter says, p. 182. edit. 2d. that, " *hell* and *inferi* never signified any thing in " the days of the compilers, but the place of " torment."

Had the author of the Confessional thought it possible there should be a *Doubter* in the three kingdoms capable of taking the reign of Henry VIIIth. into the days of the compilers of the articles, he would probably have specified more precisely the *days* he meant; and have satisfied his readers by referring them to Nowel's catechism, to Peter Martyr, cited by Dr. Nichols, to bishop Bilson, and several other approved and orthodox writers of those times.

Luckily, however, for the author of the Confessional, the good bishop Burnet comes in to his aid, and seconds his assertion with advantage, by going backwards far beyond the days of Henry VIIIth. and forwards even to his own times. " The Greek word, says the " bishop, so rendered [*hell*] does now com- " monly stand for the place of the damned, " and for many ages has been so understood." *Exposition*, p. 58. And so consequently has been the English word by which the Greek word is rendered: which I mention by way of apprising the author of the *Doubts*, that the Greek word ᾅδης in the Septuagint, for *hell*, in all the passages of Job and the Psalms he hath cited.

But it is quite proper the *Doubter* should bring himself out to the reader's view upon this important occasion. Thus then he:

" The translation of the great English bible,

" the psalter of which is still retained in the " book of common prayer, was set forth and " used in the time of King Henry the eighth, " and Edward the sixth. These, I presume, " were the days of the compilers, and that the " word *hell* signified in their days, what it is " made to signify in this translation." *Doubts*, page 26.

The instance is, Job xiv. 13. *O that thou woldest kepe and hyde me in the hell, untyll thy wrath were stylled.*

" It is certain, saith the *Doubter*, " that " the translator of this verse in Job, by the " word *hell*, meant not the place of torments."

But who can be certain of this, but he who is certain what the translator did mean? And this, it seems, is not the *Doubter*, for thus he goes on—" but either the grave, or the place " or state of the dead."

That is to say, the translator either meant something, or he meant some other thing, or lastly, something else, which it seems is his way of proving the certainty that the translator did not mean something different from all three.

But now suppose somebody should come and tell him, that, *the hell*, in the days of the compilers (taking in the compass the *Doubter* hath done) signified purgatory, and should cite this passage of Job out of the great bible to prove it? What would he say to him?

Probably he would alledge, that " the com- " pilers were reformers, and that reformers did " not believe purgatory, nor would set tran- " slators to work that did."

As by the cast of his conclusions the *Doubter* seems to be somewhat in this way of thinking, let us look a little into the character of this translation as well as of the men under whose patronage it came forth.

" Some exceptions," says Fuller, "being " taken at Tindal's translation, the bishops " (then generally popish) complied so far, in " a conference, with the desires of King Henry " the eighth, that on condition the people " would give in Tindal's [pretended false] " translation, they would set forth another, " better agreeing with the original. And al- " though this took up some time to effect, the " work being great in itself, and few work- " men as yet, masters of the mystery of print- " ing, yet at last it was accomplished, but " more purely and perfectly done in after-ages." *Church History*, Book VII. p. 387.

This bible came out in 1541, and having these patrons, among whom Bonner was none of the least considerable, we may be pretty certain purgatory was not one of the doctrines this translation was intended to discountenance. *Hell* and *inferi* in those days, often signified purgatory, * as well as the region of final pu-

* The learned Dr. Jortin, Life of Erasmus, vol. I. p. 114, had translated the words *apud inferos pœna*, from Bembus's History of Venice, by *the pains of hell*. He was advertised that it should rather have been *the pains of purgatory*; and, though he acquiesced in the correction, yet he adds, " I might plead that our english word " hell is lax enough to answer to *inferi*, or to all the supposed districts " of the infernal regions:" Ibid. vol. II. Appendix, p. 712—Consequently to purgatory. Bembus died in the year 1547. Bayle,

nishment. And who can say that the translator of the book of Job did *not* consider *the hell* in which Job desired to be hidden, under the idea of purgatory?

But when the reformation had taken deeper root, and the doctrine of purgatory was totally discarded, namely, at the time when king Edward's articles were compiled, and for many years after, the word *hell* will be found to be invariably taken for the place of final punishment, in all theological writings of authority.

Let us go on with the *Doubter*. "And the "same thing is highly probable" (not equally certain it seems,) "of the translator of these "and other passages of the Psalms, where *the* "*grave* is substituted for *hell* in the last trans- "lation."

And is not *the grave* substituted for *the hell* in the last translation of Job xiv. 13? And if this circumstance reduces his certainty to a probability in one case, why not in the other? One thing indeed is certain in both cases, that the last translators knowing that the word *hell* conveyed no other idea to the english reader, but that of a place of torment, which is not the meaning of the original word, they very wisely substituted the word *grave* in its room.

As to the word *hell*, continuing in the old translation of the Psalms, which is still used in our public service, I can only say, I am sorry such an instance should appear of our backwardness to correct improprieties of that kind in our forms of public worship.

The candid reader is now left to judge what room the *Doubter* had to insult the author of

the Confessional, on his being unacquainted with the different translations of the scriptures.

Finally, Doctor Bennet, commenting on the third article in his *Directions*, &c. will have it, that "the church excludes that sense of the "word *hell*, which says that by *hell* is meant "the *grave*."

In this matter the author of the Confessional says, that Dr. Bennet is contrary to Dr. Clarke. Whereas the *Doubter* affirms they are *very good friends*, and cites some instances from each of them to prove it.

True, *very good friends* in their explanation of the word *hell*. But is this the point in which the author of the Confessional said they disagreed? Or has Dr. Clarke any where said, that, "the church excludes that sense of the "word *hell* which says that *hell* signifies *the "grave?*"

Let Dr. Clarke speak for himself. "That the "sense in which any human forms appear to a "man's self to be consistent with scripture, "and not the presumed meaning of the com- "pilers, is to be the rule and measure of his "understanding them, is evident both in rea- "son (because otherwise every human govern- "ment makes a new rule of faith) and is more- "over by all protestants agreed upon without "controversy in practice. For the article in "the apostle's creed, concerning Christ's de- "scent into hell, is now universally under- "stood in a sense probably different from what "the composers of the creed intended." *Reply to Nelson*, p. 33, 34.

Now unless it is impossible that the word *hell*, in the article or the creed, taken in the sense of *the grave*, should appear to any man's self to be more consistent with scripture than the state of separate souls, or any other sense, put upon the word hell, or unless the tautology mentioned in Dr. Clarke's catechism, is to be taken as the reason why the church (which, I apprehend, is a human government within the Doctor's meaning) does, and as a sufficient reason why she should exclude the sense in question, Dr. Clarke must either be at variance with Dr. Bennet on this point of exclusion, or at variance with himself.

Thus have we waded through these *Doubts* with sufficient patience and perseverance, leaving the *wit* and *spirit* of the author, abstracted from his *reasoning*, to make what impressions they may upon the candid and intelligent reader, who may perhaps have expected a little more knowledge of his subjects from a writer that makes so desperate an attack upon an author's reputation who does not seem to have deserved it. In all such cases, however, it is, and it always will be true, that, where the design is only to *disparage* and *defame*, *an ounce of mother, is worth a pound of clergy.*

As to this method of *doubting*, the experiment, as I remember, was first tried upon the *Estimate* of a late unfortunate author, by a masterly and not illiberal hand; and the effect those doubts had upon the vogue of the said *Estimate*, may probably enough be supposed to have had some share, among many other mortifications, in bringing on that dejection which

is said to have so unhappily affected the spirits of that ill-starred, but very ingenious writer, and, in other respects, valuable man.

What effects of the like kind might be expected from the doubts we have been considering, one cannot certainly say. The *Doubter* talks somewhere, as if the mistakes of the author of the Confessional were fatal to him, an expression that may be differently understood. Be that as it may, the author of these doubts should have considered, that imitations of applauded originals seldom succeed with the public, when they come from second-rate writers; there is a spirit of genius and delicacy in such originals (particularly of the ironical kind) which the ordinary talents of a mere imitator cannot catch, and for which he is obliged to substitute a spirit of another sort, impatient of being covered by the comic mask, and discovering itself at every turn for the genuine spirit of wrath and resentment.

Misrepresentations, however, let them be conveyed in what way you will, when they strike at the moral character of the party misrepresented, are serious things; and the particular virulence with which the insinuations of that tendency in these *Doubts* are thrown out against the author of the Confessional, made it in some measure necessary that the public should be apprised to what they really amount.

It is true, writers against that book, of a more consequential figure, have not been sparing in personal reflections. But as these were probably intended only as a kind of crutches to help on here and there a lame argument for

subscriptions, the consideration of them may be postponed till it becomes reasonable for the author to review those arguments.

I say till it becomes reasonable, that is to say, till these argumentative gentlemen have reconciled the jarring and contradictory principles and interpretations they have respectively played against the Confessional, and brought them to a perfect agreement one with another.

It was very easy to foresee that men who hardly agreed in any thing else, would agree in attacking the Confessional and disparaging the author of it, and that their disagreements must break out in the course of the controversy; and so it hath proved.

There is no such thing, for example, as making room for professor Rutherforth's *independent churches* in the theory of the *Essayist on Establishments*. On another hand, the latitude allowed by the pleader for subscriptions, is utterly subversive of the said professor's *testwork*.

There cannot well be a more decisive argument than may be drawn from the circumstances of these and other disagreements among them, that all their defences of subscription are defective. And yet, as these gentlemen are only particular doctors, they are at liberty to disown each other, as occasion is given; not to mention that some future doctor may arise who will disown them both.

There are, too, among the adversaries of the Confessional, who want to be reconciled to themselves. Of this class is the *Letter-writer and Remarker on the preface to the first edition of the Confessional*. He deals chiefly in *bye-*

matters, and these he treats in a *bye-way* of his own, so that you cannot be certain whither he is bound, or by what church-system he will abide. Sometimes he reproves the author of the Confessional with magisterial severity as too much a friend to the dissenters, only for exposing the iniquity of their ancient persecutors. On other occasions he seems disposed to coax the dissenters in a way that puts one in mind of, *if we had lived in the days of our fore-fathers, &c.*

What hope can a man, who commits himself with such opponents, have, that the controversy will ever be brought to a fair issue, or indeed to any issue at all? Or who that can employ himself in any sort of advantage either to himself or the public in studies of another sort, would waste his fleeting hours in such fruitless altercation?

Who, for instance, that does not hold his time the cheapest of all his worldly goods, would contend with a man, who, at this time of the day, shews an inclination to support the narrow-hearted, and more than semipagan notion of religion, entertained by the convocation-men of 1689.

In what way can you deal, or upon what common principles can you argue, with a pretended defender of a protestant church, who either is, or pretends to be ignorant of the master argument against popery?

Is it worth your while to hold debate with a man who quarrels with you for calling the nonconformists of Archbishop Parker's time by the name of Puritans, after so good an authority as

Strype?—Or with a man who, while he is correcting your historical errors, speaks of two bishops, one of whom died while the other was a school-boy, as of one and the same man? Or lastly, with a disputant who, while he is questioning you with an ingenuous magnanimity concerning the sincerity of your subscription, seems not to have any feelings that ever he subscribed himself?

Yet this gentleman seems to set himself up as advocate-general for the clergy of the church of England. Is it credible that a respectable body, among whom are many, I trust very many, learned, rational, pious, liberal-minded divines, would chuse such a one for their representative?

The laborious compiler of certain *Conferences* in the *London Magazine* might perhaps think himself slighted, were he to be passed by without some acknowledgement of by-past obligations. This *dialogist* hath thought fit to distinguish the author of the Confessional with the very civil appellation of *Stasiotes*, a term of the same import with Tertullus's ςασιν κινουντα, applied to St. Paul; for which compliment he would deserve particular thanks from the said author, if he had not in so many passages, made this same *Stasiotes* talk like an idiot, purely for the comfort of confuting him with a suitable assortment of replies.

The *candent* Dr. Ibbetson, were he cool enough to be handled, would deserve, among others, to be held up to the admiration of the critics, particularly for his extremely ingenious knack of composing *e*-ditions and *ad*-ditions

by echoing the language of his adversary. Nothing however strikes me so much as his being able to temper so high a degree of zeal, with so very low a degree of humility. Witness his condescending to retail against the author of the Confessional the following very piteous anecdote.

"A certain prelate was lamenting, not very "long since, that the clergy of the church of "England do not meet with the same respect "from the laity, as the clergy of the romish "church; to whom this church-champion, who "accidentally sat at his right hand in a large "company, replied, he hoped they never would."

By the way, who or what can this author of the Confessional be? A while ago he was a mere recluse, brooding in the dark corner of his library, and totally unacquainted with the men and times in which he lives. Anon we find him at the right hand of a prelate in a public company, and passing his word about as alert as any of them.

But to the anecdote. Which shall we admire most? the strength of the Doctor's judgment, or the strength of his faith? Who could give credit to a tale which carries along with it such an indisputable mark of an impudent forgery, not from any precarious presumption of what the author of the Confessional might or might not say on such an occasion, but from an absolute certainty that there is not a prelate of the established church, either of England or Ireland, who would not think it the highest reflection upon his good sense to have any such *lamentation* ascribed to him.

In the course of the controversy occasioned by the Confessional, some mention has been dropped of a *writing inquisition;* an expression which many persons have been at a loss to understand. Some have thought it might refer to an *index expurgatorius*; others have fallen upon different conjectures. It now appears to be an *holy office,* where suspected persons are interrogated concerning the import of their subscriptions, and where, if they do not give satisfaction, the signal is immediately thrown out to pelt them with *Doubts, Prefaces, Conferences, Anecdotes, Addresses,** and so forth.

And lest these should not take place on the present culprit, he is admonished with something of a menacing air, that he may expect farther remarks on his book, by the important hand above-mentioned. All in good time. May the remarker's health and leisure enable him to bring them forth; and may he profit by the hints we have imparted of the slips he hath made in his remarks on the preface (some of them not mentioned, *miseranda vel hosti)*, and finish his second remarks with a little more circumspection, and a little more of something else, than is to be found in his first. Which is the worst that I wish him.

I make no doubt but the critical accumulation of so many publications against the Confessional, one upon the back of another, within the compass of a very few weeks, and after a

* See an Addreſs to the author of the Confeſſional in the Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1767; and compare the contents with Dr. Rutherforth's Defence of his charge on the ſame ſubject.

pretty long intermission, hath been remarked both by the friends and enemies of that book. Perhaps the former may not be apprised of the good policy of this manœuvre. Let us try to explain it. Besides the immediate benefit of suffocation, which might be expected from such heaps of heavy matter, every one must be sensible that an answer which should take in all the strictures of these several antagonists, would make a book as big again, at least as the Confessional. And as the author was *ten* or *eleven* years in *training* or *brooding* over that work, it must of course be *twenty*, before such answer could be completed: and by that time the author himself, and the far greater part of his opponents, may be gathered to their fathers in peace, and the latter eased of all apprehensions of being disturbed in the interval, with proposals and solicitations for a farther reformation.

This however may not altogether depend on the tardy talents of the author of the Confessional. There may be others who are as little convinced, as the said author is by the arguments brought against him, that his adversaries have made out their case, and who are well able to give their reasons in writing, upon shorter notice. Some such have already appeared, who, without making themselves answerable for the errors or the defects of the Confessional, have done full justice to the cause of christian liberty, to the entire satisfaction of all the friends and lovers of it, and with great honour to themselves. Some such, I trust, there ever will be, while the gospel of

the GOD OF TRUTH is preached, and the light of it afforded in this land of liberty. And while things continue among us in this state, the cause espoused by the author of the Confessional cannot be a matter of indifference. If it is not defensible upon the principles of that gospel, the sooner it is suppressed, the better. If it is, the triumphs of it's adversaries can be of no long duration.

ADVERTISEMENT.

JUST as the foregoing papers were ready for publication, I had an opportunity of perusing, *A Second Letter to the Author of the Confessional*, and find reason to lament that it should follow the first in so great a hurry, as to prevent the writer of it from profiting by the hints dropped for his use in these *Occasional Remarks*. By which misfortune it hath happened that this second letter labours under the same infirmities with the former, not without considerable aggravations in particular instances. There are three chapters of the Confessional still open to this gentleman's strictures; and when we have had these, and have seen the worst of his case, it is to be hoped some charitable hand will undertake his cure once for all, by endeavouring to eradicate the cause of his malady, which, as far as I can judge, seems to arise from a brain-sick anxiety for the safety and preservation of ecclesiastical peace. In the interval, I would beg leave to recommend, by way of a *cooler*, the following incomparable sentiments of an eminent divine of the present day, on that subject, occasioned by a declara-

tion of Erasmus, that, " he would sooner give " up a part of truth, than disturb the public " peace."

" But the mischief is," says this matchless writer, " that a man cannot thus give up truth, " without running into falsehood, and assenting to things which he doth not believe. " For a man cannot judge that to be right, " which his own reason pronounces to be false, " only because over-bearing persons attack the " truth with more vehemence than he chuseth " to employ in defence of it, and are the majority and the stronger party. Besides, " when such enemies to reason and to religion " perceive that a man will not have the courage " to defend his opinions at all extremities, " which Erasmus confessed to be his own disposition, they never fail to take advantage " of him, to oppress him, and to run him " down, well knowing that nothing is necessary to accomplish their purposes besides " stubbornness, clamour, impudence, and violence. And so spiritual tyranny, being " once erected, would endure for ever, and " gain strength and stability. Concord and " peace are unquestionably valuable blessings, " but yet not to be purchased at the expence " of truth and liberty, which are infinitely " more estimable than a sordid tranquillity, " beneath the yoke of falsehood and arbitrary " dominion. Beneath this yoke the christian " republic becomes a mere faction of poltroons, " solicitous about enjoying the present, and " neglecting every thing that is laudable, under the pretext of preserving the peace.

" Such would have been the present state of " christianity, if the pacific scheme of Eras- " mus had been received and pursued. Divi- " sions, it must be owned, do much harm; " yet they have at least produced this good, " that the truth of the gospel, and a christian " liberty which acquiesceth only in the deci- " sions of Jesus Christ, are not entirely ba- " nished from the face of the earth, as they " would have been without these struggles of " our ancestors." Which I leave the letter writer to compare with some of his own doctrines, and to apply to whom it may concern, at his leisure.

THE END.

OCCASIONAL REMARKS

UPON SOME LATE

STRICTURES

ON

THE CONFESSIONAL:

PART II.

Containing chiefly

REMARKS on the FIRST of THREE LETTERS to the Author of that Work:

AND

AN EXAMINATION of Dr. MACLAINE's Defence of Archbishop WAKE in the Third APPENDIX of A SUPPLEMENT to the Quarto Edition of Dr. MOSHEIM's Ecclesiastical History.

Addressed to a respectable Layman.

———That good fellow,
If I command him, follows my appointment,
I will have none so near else. Learn this, brother,
We live not to be grip'd by meaner persons.

SHAKESPEAR.

Weak Reasons have great force in them, when they that are narrow in Charity, and powerful in Place, have the MANAGEMENT *of them.* ANONYMUS.

[FIRST PRINTED MDCCLXIX.]

TESTIMONIES.

" THE greateſt part of thoſe they call ZEALOTS, fear nothing
" more than the orthodoxy of thoſe they accuſe.—They would
" have the perſon they have once accuſed apoſtatiſe in good
" earneſt; and are angry that he does not go over to the enemy's
" party to make good their accuſations." BAYLE.

" THIS is one of the moſt cunning and common touches of the
" ODIUM THEOLOGICUM. They who are at a loſs to anſwer
" the objections raiſed againſt the common doctrines, fall upon
" the PERSONS who propoſe the objections. They brand them
" as ſo many falſe brothers, who are in league with the adver-
" ſaries, and only retain the outward profeſſion of orthodoxy, to
" enable them to do the greater execution." *Idem.*

" AT ultimi nepotes,
" Et cordatior ætas,
" Judicia rebus æquiora, forſitan,
" Adhibebit integro ſinu.
" Tum, livore ſepulto,
" Si quid meremur, ſana poſteritas ſciet." MILTON.

OCCASIONAL REMARKS, &c.

PART II.

DEAR SIR,

I AGREE with you, that the author of *The Confessional* hath obligations to the gentlemen who have published their animadversions on that work; but I am by no means clear to what these obligations amount. The author had little reason to expect the honour of employing so many important pens, some of which, if common fame is not mistaken, were taken off from labours, which would certainly have brought them in larger portions of reputation; but if, as hath been suggested, a more immediate prospect of profit determined them to attack *The Confessional*, the consequence derived upon the author by his having such respectable adversaries will be but an accidental circumstance, for which his acknowledgments may be postponed.

The cry, it seems, was, ANY MONEY FOR AN ANSWER TO THE CONFESSIONAL; and being proclaimed from a quarter where such re-

wards were to be had for such services, it could hardly be, but that numbers of men of a certain stamp would sharpen their tools and prepare for the onset;—that sort of men I mean, whose mediocrity the church had hitherto overlooked, and who were waiting in silence and obscurity for an opportunity of displaying the merit of an implicit conformity, by way of a *Succedaneum* for merit of another sort.

It was, however, quickly understood, that the aid of writers of more consequence would be wanted, not so much for the confutation of a work, which all of them have since affected to hold in the extremest contempt, as to vindicate the honour of a prime patron, who had fared but indifferently in the hands of a certain reverend Colonist, to whose merit and memory the author of the Confessional was disposed to do a little common justice.

When Dr. MIDDLETON's *Introductory Discourse to his Free Inquiry &c.* first appeared, a wicked wit in the university of Cambridge was heard to say, that, "the Doctor had erected a ladder against the steeple, and that he "foresaw the aspirants would be in such haste "to climb, that they would expose themselves to the company below in very ludicrous attitudes." Every one knows the event.

Whether this hath not been the case with the writers against *The Confessional*, must be left to the spectators to determine. Certain it is, that either their haste to climb, or their inadvertence from some other motive, hath drawn them into strange embarrassments, to the amaze-

ment, even of their own friends and partizans, with some of whom, it is well if the ungracious picture they have drawn of their antagonist, will afford them a sufficient apology.

I remember the day, my good friend, when you were felicitating the present times in very high strains of eulogy, on the moderation of our established clergy, who, you observed, had descended of late years from their high pretensions to spiritual powers and privileges, asserted with the utmost vehemence by some of their predecessors of recent memory; you did not think there were an hundred in the whole body who would oppose any reasonable modification of our established forms, which should be proposed, either to conciliate the dissenters, or to accommodate the scrupulous in our own communion.

But though I then was, and still am happy, in being able to point out no inconsiderable numbers of wise and worthy men,—men of sound sense, and of an excellent spirit, who wish and wait for a reformation in our ecclesiastical affairs, yet I could not agree to your calculation of their influence. I could not think the old leaven had so far spent itself, as not to be capable of raising a new fermentation upon occasion given. For though the Bennets, the Waterlands, the Berrimans, &c. &c. were dead and gone, I knew their eulogists were living; I even knew that the rank spirit of Sacheverel was not so far laid to rest, but that it occasionally appeared in some invidious flings at our first reformers.

These particulars indeed were not much observed by the public, as the sentiments of these writers were commonly dropped in passing, sometimes with a kind of obscure intimation, which prevented the reader from being too much alarmed, and sometimes with equivocal qualifications, which might admit of a better sense by the customary methods of explanation.

But no sooner did *The Confessional* appear, than the mask was thrown aside. Ambiguities would no longer serve the turn. The brotherhood must now speak out; and, as it happened, they did not want encouragement. To work they went; but whether it was, that, having enjoyed their privileges and emoluments for a long interval in perfect tranquillity, they had been less attentive to the foundation of their claim to them, or whether they placed their security in attentions of another kind, certain it is, that upon this occasion, they appeared to be taken by surprise, and without that preparation which the questions suggested in *The Confessional* seemed to require in those who thought themselves so materially concerned to answer them. Hence it is that their theories of church-authority are so mismatched, that they are in fact as far at a distance from each other, as they are from the author of *the Confessional.*

The writer of the *Three letters* to that author, in declining to answer for the ingenious fabricator of the *Alliance in Church and State*, thinks fit to say in the first of those letters, that "that "person is abundantly much more able to an-

" swer for himself."* But whatever superior abilities he may have to answer the author of *The Confessional*, the Letter-writer who pays him the compliment must equip him, as he hath done Dr. Mayhew, and his correspondent, with abilities to answer every thing,† before it is possible for him to support his *Alliance*, against the principles of Messieurs Rutherforth, Ibbotson, the author of *the Essay on Establishments*, *the Letter-writer* under our consideration, the *Dialogist* in the London-magazine, and another *Letter-writer*, who hath lately passed through the hands of a correspondent, whose sentiments he certainly did not particularly solicit.‡

The learned Cambridge professor was the first who exhibited himself, cased in the old rusty armour of the Laudæan age, asserting, that the governors of the church, like those of all other societies, are vested with powers to order what they think best for the security and good government of the churches over which they preside; not under any terms of an alliance with the state, but for the purpose of establishing modes of worship, tests of doctrine, and canons of discipline, by their own authority, which, he would have it believed, they derive from Christ.

How different this scheme of government is

* Page 66. † Ibid, p. 96.

‡ See two masterly pamphlets, Part i. and ii. in answer to a book entitled, *Letters concerning confessions of faith and subscriptions to Articles of Religion in Protestant Churches, occasioned by the Confessional.* Printed for F. Newbery, in St. Paul's Church Yard.

from that of the Alliance, is easy to perceive by a transient glance. But it was bringing things back to the old posture of defence; and, sooth to say, the professor had no great reason, on his own account, to be solicitous for the solidity or the honour of the said *Alliance*.

It is possible that Dr. Rutherforth's system is, at the bottom, that of all the opponents of *The Confessional*, and particularly was that of their chief patron and abettor. But the time was not yet come to exhibit it in the face of the civil magistrate, to whom the *Alliance* had given powers and privileges, for which the professor had left no room. When therefore it was perceived, not without some degree of mortification, that the professor had been so unhandy as to let the cat out of the bag, it was determined, without giving him time to pick up his mistakes (as he afterwards attempted to do) to employ another hand.

Accordingly, in due time, and to anticipate prejudices, appeared an advertisement in the Daily Gazetteer, in which, after some abuse of the author of *The Confessional*, as one who could not upon his own principles be a member of any established church, and after a freezing compliment to Dr. Rutherforth, for his good will, notice was given in form, that a complete and satisfactory answer to *The Confessional* was upon the stocks, and would be speedily published.

Soon after appeared, *An Essay on Establishments in Religion*, in which, among other remarkables, is the following argument in behalf of such establishments.

" The alliance between government and re-
" ligion, is as old as government itself. At
" the time of the first appearance of christian-
" ity, this alliance subsisted every where, ha-
" ving descended without interruption from
" the first ages. Corrupt as religion then was,
" yet every government in the known world
" drew succours from it, without which they
" could never have attained to any consider-
" able degree of greatness and power. If
" christianity then, when it put down these
" false and corrupt establishments, and thereby
" deprived government of its ancient ally, had
" refused itself to associate with the civil pow-
" er, it would have done the most essential
" injury to society." p. 10. 11.

That is to say, "if christianity does not
" supply government [civil or political go-
" vernment] with the same, or with similar
" means of attaining greatness and power, that
" false religion did, it will not afford govern-
" ment a reasonable equivalent for the loss of
" its ancient ally;" viz. CORRUPT RELIGION. What is the consequence? Why that, in such case, civil government ought not to admit, or tolerate christianity.

The reader will observe, that this is not said of *ecclesiastical establishments* assuming the name of christian, but of christianity itself. Such establishments there may be, which afford the same succours to political government that corrupt religion did, namely, the succours of superstition and priestcraft, and those accommodations of religious doctrine to the purposes of despotism, ambition, avarice, &c. which

corrupt religions afforded to the civil governments with which they were incorporated. But the most ordinary reader of the new testament will see that christianity, as it came from its blessed teacher and his apostles, abhors the profane idea, and disdains the dirty slavery of lackeying to the greatness and power of government, and assigns to government itself no higher object, than that *men may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty.*

Surprized and shocked at this doctrine, some of the more moderate retainers to establishments revolted, upon seeing the foundations of them laid in this impious principle. Some of them called it *Hobbism*, but others insisted, that Hobbes was the honester, as well as the more sensible writer of the two. For Hobbes, perceiving that christianity would never suit the purposes of his *Leviathan*, which were the attainment of greatness and power, very seasonably asks this question,

"But what if a king, or a senate, or other "sovereign person, forbid us to believe in "Christ?"

For answer to which, he refers the scrupulous subject to the example of Naaman the Syrian, prescribes an unlimited external conformity, and brings him off with this salvo, that "it is not he, that in this case, denieth "Christ before men, but his governor, and the "laws of his country."*

You will however be tempted to acknowledge that the Essayist, by this and the like

* Leviathan, chap. 42. part 3. p. 271. edit. 1651.

strokes in favour of the civil magistrate, very well supplies the defects of Dr. Rutherforth, as he opens a way sufficiently smooth and wide to carry civil government in company with christianity, to the very summit of greatness and power. But be not too hasty in your conclusions. Christianity (the Essayist's *butterfly* sort of christianity) puts in for more than an equal share of glory with him. For though, as we are told in another passage, "the magi-"strate is bound to exercise his private judg-"ment for the good of the public, in conse-"quence of his right to judge of the princi-"ples of religion and their effects for himself, "yet is he bound, in regard to the thousands "that are interested in his choice, to make use "of all the means of right information, which "his high office puts in his power."* And this information, as appears in the sequel, he can only have from the church, out of whose tuition the Essayist takes care he shall not escape, till he hath agreed to execute all her behests without exception; and by these means you see, he establishes the church in all those claims and pretensions which Dr. Rutherforth had taken for granted, without any respect had to the civil magistrate.

And here, he fell under the cognizance of the learned and incomparably accurate Dr. Dawson,† as the professor had done before him,

* Essay on Establishments, p. 16—20, 21, 22. e. q. f.

† See likewise an excellent pamphlet, intitled, *Observations on National Establishments of Religion in general, and on the establishment of Christianity in particular.* Printed for Bladon. And another intitled, *Civil Establishments in religion a ground of infidelity;* printed for Johnson.

in whose hands I most willingly leave them both, with this single reflection, that probably hereafter it may become a question among the *Anti-confessionalists* themselves, whether Dr. Rutherforth or the *Essayist* have done the greater honour to the civil magistrate, the former by leaving him out of his scheme of church government, or the latter by taking him in.

At what time the writer of the *Three Letters to the author of the Confessional* was called to this service, or whether he was the complete answerer notified in the advertisement above-mentioned, cannot be precisely determined. After the nakedness of the *Essay on Establishments*, &c. had been so effectually exposed, it is probable the inconvenience of attacking the doctrine of *The Confessional*, before the public was sufficiently prejudiced against the person and good faith of the author, was easily perceived; and about that time, it is likely, the writer of the three letters received his commission. In the end of his third letter, there is an intimation, signifying that the whole business of castigating *The Confessional* was delegated to him, and it was understood that his instruction was *to lay it on thick*. And to answer the purpose of his constituents, he very properly introduces himself with the air and importance of an inquisitor of heretical pravity.

Full of compassion for the poor culprit before him, he exhorts him, to "go coolly over "his book along with the Remarker, to revise "his sentiments and expressions," p. 4. in order, no doubt, to put the holy office in the

right as soon as may be, by confessing, retracting, and abjuring his errors; previous to which, he is reminded to consider whether he may, "with a good conscience, fill a station, and "receive the profits of it, without performing "all the conditions of it, on which he was admitted into it." p. 3.

If you ask upon what authority he acts the censor with all this solemn grimace? he answers in apostolical phrase, that "he means to *withstand* the author of *The Confessional*, *to the face*, wherever the said author *is to be blamed*."*

To open his way to these rebukes, he takes it for granted that the pannel "hath made "certain declarations, and subscribed his assent to certain articles" (which he puts down however with great caution, to save himself from the disgrace of recrimination) and then says, "I presume you will not say, that your "book is consistent with these declarations." p. 2.

Right inquisitor throughout! "You, poor "heretic, are accused of disputing the authority "of holy church. If you ask on what evi"dence? You are to trust the holy office for "the authenticity of its informations. Suffice "it for you to know, that you are accused;

* Page 1. *Neminem offendat*, says the popish doctor, Francis Martin, *quod* TILLOTSONUM *ubique durius exceperim; quia in causa religionis toties et tam splendidè mentitus, ex Apostoli ad Titum mandato*, duré, *sicut commeruit*, increpandus erat. Additions to Birch's Life of Tillotson, octavo, p. 10.—Congenial souls, that they should both hit upon the same expedient to overbear all objections to their authority!

" and it is your best way, to intitle yourself to " our goodwill, to confess and retract your " heresies, without more ado."

By the way, may not this gentleman be supposed to have forgot in what country, and under what government we live? Shall an unknown writer pretend to insult another, equally unknown, in this lordly manner, upon presumptions, for which he hath no proof? Does he think it a light matter among englishmen and protestants to intrude himself with these airs of authority, into a province, where all the world may see he hath no commission?

It appears from a circumstance p. 8. of this first letter, that the Remarker is a beneficed clergyman, possessed of an ecclesiastical preferment. Will he undertake to say, that he hath performed ALL the conditions on which he was admitted into it? He may say it indeed, without much trouble. But in whatever way he goes about to prove it, I will venture to say, and prove, that the author of *The Confessional* stands upon even ground with him. If he can neither say it nor prove it (as, in the present state of our ecclesiastical system, where is the man that can?) St. Paul had another text or two, equally at his service, and much more to the purpose of his edification, viz. *Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? Thou who teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?*

Thanks be to the times, and the moderation of a more liberal set of divines, there are men among us of a better spirit than this uncharitable Remarker.

It is well known, that when bishop Ridley took orders in the church of Rome, he must have made all the declarations and subscriptions that were necessary to ascertain his conformity to that church, even to the minutest ceremony, insignificant and superstitious as it might be, and to the observance of which, Erasmus informs us, the priests of that church were bound, *arctioribus pene vinculis quam ad ea quæ præcipit Christus.*

In process of time, articles were exhibited against Dr. Ridley, importing, that, "he "preached at St. Stephens in rogation week, "and said, that auricular confession was a mere "positive law, and ordained as a godly means "for the sinner to come to the priest for coun- "sel, but he could not find it in scripture. "2. That he had preached in the said Roga- "tion week, and said, that there was no meeter "term to be given to the ceremonies of the "church, than to call them beggarly ceremo- "nies. 3. That *Te Deum* had been sung in "english at Herne, where the said master doc- "tor Ridley was vicar."*

The prosecution, indeed, ended favourably for Dr. Ridley; but the point of conscience still remained with him, and, according to our letter-writer, he ought certainly to have resigned his prebend of Canterbury, and vicarage of Herne; "having not performed all the con- "ditions on which he was admitted into them."

* Biographia Britannica, vol. VI. part II. supplement, p. 150.

But here steps in the bishop's learned and candid biographer, Mr. Glocester Ridley, and declares that this worthy prelate "behaved "honestly and prudently in his endeavours in "the pulpit, to set the abuses of popery before "the peoples eyes."——Honestly, in making the word of God the rule of his instructions; and prudently, in keeping to the windward of the six articles.* And honesty and prudence

* See the Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley. Quarto, 1763. p. 145. The candour and moderation of this ingenious biographer is the more laudable, as it may seem from some of his publications, that he entertained not so low an opinion of auricular confession as his venerable ancestor. Besides what he says in the bishop's life, we have his sentiments of this matter, in a sermon by him preached at the funeral of Dr. William Berriman, Feb. 10, 1749. Where speaking of the deceased, he has the following passage. "In solving doubts, and di-"recting conscience, a ready and nice casuist; a science of which "he made himself master; notwithstanding the too general neglect "in our congregations to afford opportunities of exercising it. Too "sad an instance how careless and indifferent men are with regard "to their eternal interests. AURICULAR CONFESSION, injoined "as absolutely necessary to salvation, and of which the popish "clergy made a scandalous use, our reformers warmly opposed; "but *the wisest* of them did strongly recommend and approve of "PRIVATE CONFESSION for the benefit of counsel and advice. "As we have laid aside the tyrannous abuse of it, it would be happy "if our people would restore to themselves the spiritual use and be-"nefit of it." Page 16. edit. 4th. We see this learned and compassionate divine, notwithstanding a sort of predilection for this article of church discipline, and notwithstanding its being a church ordinance to which Dr. Ridley had solemnly given his assent, says not a word of his obligation to resign his preferments, or give up the profits of them, on account of his contravening one of the conditions on which he was admitted into them. How amiable this temper when compared with the spirit of the letter writer! And how perverse would the latter be, should he once more set his *dwarf* to work with his *doubts*, making it one of them, whether *private confession*, the neglect of which implies *carelessness and neglect with regard to men's eternal interest*, is not much the same thing as *auricular con-*

being secured, why might he not keep his preferments (notwithstanding any deviations from his subscription) with the best conscience in the world! Whether the author of *the Confessional* can fairly avail himself of this precedent, I am not quite clear. *The letter-writer* will not allow him one grain of honesty; and I own, I have some doubts myself concerning his prudence, who ventured so unadvisedly to thrust his hand into a wasp's nest.

Let us see whether he may not have better luck with an example of honesty and prudence, nearer our own times.

Bishop Sanderson, a divine in the highest honour and esteem with the most liberal-minded dealers in morality and politics of the present age,* writes thus to his friend Dr. Thomas Pierce some time before the restoration:

"As for the questions of *Election, Reprobation, Effectual Grace, Perseverance*, &c. "I took as little notice of the two first as of "any other thing contained in the book [Calvin's Institutions] both because I was al-

confeſſion, abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation? But I hope theſe impertinences are now falling into diſrepute; and that this gentleman may be permitted, with all freedom and indulgence, to recommend the reſtoration of ſome other things to us, laid aſide, poſſibly, by our reformers with too much precipitation. What a glorious acquiſition to the author of *the Confeſſional* would ſuch a coadjutor be? ſo much the more valuable, as one might almoſt enſure his perſeverance in this reſtoring kind of reformation, even though he ſhould be promoted to the ſee of Canterbury.

* See "A dialogue between *Iſaac Walton* and *Homologiſtes*, "in which the character of biſhop Sanderſon is defended againſt the "author of *the Confeſſional*, printed for Fletcher and Co. 1768."

" ways afraid to pry much into those secrets,
" and because I could not certainly inform
" myself, &c.—But giving myself mostly still
" to the study of moral divinity, (and taking
" most other things upon trust, as they were
" in a manner generally taught in the schools
" and pulpits in both universities) I did, for
" many years together, acquiesce.—But 1625,
" a parliament being called, wherein I was
" chosen one of the clerks of the convocation
" for the diocese of Lincoln, during the con-
" tinuance of that parliament (which was about
" four months as I remember) there was some
" expectation that those arminian points (the
" only questions almost in agitation at that
" time) should have been debated by the clergy
" in convocation; which occasioned me, as it
" did sundry others, being then at some lei-
" sure, to endeavour by study and conference
" to inform myself as thoroughly and exactly
" in the state of those controversies, as I could
" have opportunity, and as my wit would serve
" me for it."

After this he informs his correspondent, that he reduced the several opinions on these heads, into five schemes, or tables, that he might have the differences better represented to the eye, *uno quasi intuitu*, and concludes thus:

" Having all these schemes before my eyes at
" once, so as I might with ease compare them
" one with another, and having considered of
" the conveniencies and inconveniencies of
" each, as well as I could, I soon discerned a
" necessity of quitting the sublapsarian way,
" of which I had a better liking before, as well

"as the supralapsarian, which I could never "fancy."*

Dr. Pierce, in his letter to Dr. Isaac Walton, subjoined to Walton's life of Sanderson, says, that "this *happy change* in bishop Sanderson's "judgement had been ever since the year 1625, "even thirty-four years *before* the world either "knew, or (at least) took notice of it."

How indeed should the world either know or take notice of this *happy change*, when, in the very year after it was wrought, namely (according to Anthony Wood)† in the year 1626, Dr. Sanderson wrote his *Pax Ecclesiæ*, wherein he falls foul upon the arminians, and particularly upon Montague's Appeal, for "bragging out "some of their private tenets, as if they were "the received established doctrine of the church "of England, by forcing the words of the ar- "ticles or Common Prayer book, to a sense "which appeareth not to have been intended "therein, as Mr. Montague hath done, in the "point of falling from grace." For the preventing of which, and farther evils, he thought it needful, that, "the church should interpose "herein, both by farther explanation of her "doctrine in the points questioned, and by

* See Dr. Hammond's Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, in full accordance with Dr. Sanderson. Sect. xiv.

† Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 322. But more probably the *Pax Ecclesiæ* was written still later. Dr. Sanderson there mentions Mr. Montague and his opposers, by which, it should seem, he had seen some at least of the answers to the appeal. In one place, I conjecture, he alludes to bishop Carleton's which was not published till 1626:

"the exercise of her discipline upon such per-
"sons as will not rest in her determinations."*

Give me leave to subjoin a few remarks to the foregoing narrative.

1. In this *Pax Ecclesiæ*, and particularly, under the title, *Series Decretorum Dei*, sect. vii. p. 69. Dr. Sanderson appears to have been a sublapsarian, if ever there was one in the world; as much a sublapsarian as when he subscribed the articles for the first time. And yet, if we believe himself on another occasion, he had quitted that way before he wrote that tract, and was become an arminian.†

2. In the first edition of his sermons, we have the following marginal note: "of late "our english arminians have got the tricke to "fetch in within the compasse of this title of "puritans, all orthodox divines that oppose "against their semi-pelagian subtilties; of "purpose to make sound truth odious, and "their own corrupt novelties more passible "and plausible."‡ And from this *tricke*, the said arminians are in the text, ranked among "*raskall people*, who will call any man that "beareth but the face of honesty, a *puritane*."

How it is in the intermediate editions I know not; but in the sixth edition, 1674, the marginal note appeareth not, though the *rascall* people still keep their ground,—to be applied as the reader shall think good.

* Pax Eccles. p. 59—61.

† N. B. Bishop Burnet admits of no medium between the sublapsarian and arminian systems. See his Expolition, on the 17th Article. Folio, p. 146, 147.

‡ Published in quarto, 1632, p. 34.

Again, in the margin of the opposite page of the old edition in quarto, is this note. "So "Pelagius, from whose root popery (in that "branch) and arminianisme sprouted, was a "man as strict for life, as most catholikes, yet "a most dangerous and pestilent heretick."*

But in the folio of 1674, the words, and arminianisme, are dropt, and in the text, "Ar- "minius his *corrupt doctrine*," is changed in- "to, *the suspected tenets* of Arminius," and, "the bold heresies of Faustus Socinus," added, to round off the period handsomely.†

There must of course be something mysterious in the conduct of a profound casuist who walks by his own rules; and it is happy for us, on account of the perplexity this might occasion to ordinary readers, that we are blessed in these inlightened times, with a set of geniuses, who, if the casuist is a favourite with them, can give us a clear and consistent account of all his doublings and quirks, and bring him out of all his scrapes with honour. I do, therefore, on this occasion, make it my humble suit to the ingenious and polite gentleman, who personates Isaac Walton in a certain dialogue, to lend us his friendly hand once more, and to inform us what we are to think of this same Dr. Sanderson, who, holding doctrines against

* Ibid. p. 35.

† How far bishop Sanderson's own hand might be concerned in these alterations, I know not. I am willing to hope he had no hand in the latter corrections, farther than barely to expunge what related to Arminius, and arminianism, in the text and margin. If he himself substituted the suspected tenets of Arminius, he must have been an adroit politician indeed.

which he declared the church ought to exercise her discipline, not only dissembled his own judgment, but inveighed against those, who, with more seeming honesty at least, avowed the same sentiments?

When this conduct is happily accounted for, I would then humbly address myself to the letter-writer, and request to be informed by him, upon what principles of conscience Dr. Sanderson could continue to *fill a station in the church, and to receive the profits of it, without performing* ALL *the conditions on which he was admitted into it?*

For thus stood the case with him. The Doctor himself tells Dr. Pierce, that "the first "thing he thought it was fit for him to do, "after he had the degree of Master of Arts, "was to consider well of the articles of the "church of England, which he had formerly "read over twice or thrice, and whereunto he "had subscribed."*

If we give credit to what he says in his *Pax Ecclesiæ*, he believed that the arminians, in endeavouring to accommodate their private opinions to the established doctrine of the church of England, "forced the words of the "articles and common prayer book, to a sense "which appeareth not to have been intended "therein."†

Hence it is clear, that when Dr. Sanderson was admitted to his first preferment, he subscribed the articles in the calvinistical sense.

* Hammond's Pacific Discourse, u. s.
† *Pax Ecclesiæ*, p. 61.

That he afterwards changed his judgment is clear from his own testimony, as well as on what occasion. He was then, in his judgment, an arminian; and under that persuasion, he must be understood to have subscribed the articles for his doctor of divinity's degree in 1632. But in the same year were published his twelve sermons, wherein he calls the arminian opinions, *semipelagian subtilties, corrupt novelties, corrupt doctrine,* and makes them *spring from the same root with popery.*

Now whatever Dr. Sanderson's opinions were, the words of the articles were still the same, and no more susceptible of an arminian sense in 1632, than they were in 1619, or 1626. Either, therefore, he must, in this last subscription, have done what he so severely reprehended in Montague, viz. "*forced* the words of "the articles, to a sense which appeareth not "to have been intended therein," or he must have dissembled with the church, pretending to subscribe to doctrines *ex animo,* which he had quitted long before.*

All this while he was in possession of his benefice at Boothby Pagnel, to which he was ad-

* This is so plain a case from Sanderson's Letter to Pierce, and from Pierce's Letter to Walton, that there is no denying it. But methods will always be found out to save the honour of staunch champions of Sanderson's complexion at all events. Accordingly, it is pretended by the compiler of his Article in the *Biographia Britannica,* ridiculously enough, that his conversion from the rigid, i. e. the supralapsarian hyphothesis, was owing to a visit Dr. Hammond paid him in 1649. But that he was ever converted from the sublapsarian way, this deponent saith not. A tale which hath likewise been industriously imposed upon foreigners. See Wetstein's Prolegomena, fol. p. 190.

mitted on very different conditions, and from whence the letter-writer, if it had been in his power, must, upon his own principles, have ousted him, in spite of all that the liberal and indulgent *Pseudo-Walton* could have said in his behalf.*

The author of *the Confessional* having these, and not less than a hundred more venerable and orthodox examples to appeal to, the letter-writer, one would think, might afford him one single grain of that charity to which he makes so many sanctified pretensions, and allow the said author the satisfaction of having the testimony of his conscience, that he is in

* The reverend Mr. Bowman, M. A. vicar of Martham in Norfolk, in his *Review of the Doctrines of the Reformation*, &c. p. 94. on the ſtrength of what he found in the *Pax Eccleſiæ*, hath claimed Sanderſon for a predeſtinarian. I am impatient to know what Dr. Nowell will ſay to this. For, battered as he is by the author of *Pietas Oxonienſis*, I have no doubt but he will fight upon his ſtumps. Will he ſay that Sanderſon was not in earneſt?—In the mean time, how ſtrangely things are altered?—In 1626, the church is called upon to exerciſe her diſcipline upon the arminians for not reſting in her determinations. In 1767, certain young academics, who, *taking things upon truſt, as they are generally taught in the ſchools and pulpits in both univerſities*, might probably enough ſubſcribe in the arminian ſenſe, find reaſon, from ſtudy and conference to change their judgment, and quit the arminian, for the ſupralapſarian, or ſublapſarian way. It will be in vain for them to alledge, that the determination of the church was on their ſide in 1626. Dr. Nowell will prove to them, that, by virtue of his *Pia & Catholica*, the ſame church's determination, on the ſame words in the ſame articles, is againſt them in 1767. What is the conſequence? The young men perſiſt in their judgment. The univerſities (in this caſe the repreſentatives of the church) are called upon to exerciſe their diſcipline upon them. Apoſtolical authority is erected to *withſtand them to the face.* They are convened, interrogated, and in the end—*Cætera dicat* Pietas Oxonienſis.

the right, at least till the letter-writer hath proved the contrary.

But, no: "the letter-writer hath known "very wicked men, who have died in the fatal "security of a dreadfully mistaken consci- "ence:" p. 7. which, he takes it for granted, will certainly be the case of this criminal under his hands, except he shall repent,—of what? —Why, of *mimicking* Cæsar *on the banks of the* Rubicon.

But if a man dies in the full persuasion that his conscience is not mistaken, is that any certain sign that he is a wicked man? How does the letter-writer know that the security of such a one will be fatal to him?

"Because," he must say (for he can have nothing else to say) "my conscience is not "mistaken, and that directs me to opposite "sentiments."

Well then, my infallibility is as good as his; and upon that presumption, permit me to borrow a little of the language in which he describes the wickedness of the author he takes to task, and apply it to the conscience of some one of those who have lately espoused a scheme as pregnant perhaps with public mischief as *the Confessional* itself.

"I have known a man who died in the midst "of his sanguine endeavours to establish bi- "shops in certain of our American colonies, "and in full security that his conscience re- "quired this of him. In his scheme of epis- "copizing this people, "were plenty of inno- "vations," as hath appeared from a pamphlet "published by one Dr. Chandler of that coun-

" try, which, as well as the extent of his plan, " would certainly have created vehement dis- " putes, oppositions, and disquietudes. And " these disorders, mixing and fermenting with " the humours of the higher and lower ranks " of men, relative to other matters, and the " general dissatisfaction (for, whatever the *Let-* " *ter-writer* may fancy, such it would be) at " many of the changes this reformer would " have introduced, might easily bring all into " a dreadful confusion."—And so, kind reader, we have got another Cæsar on the banks of the Rubicon,—to whom, "all the foreseen " horrors of a civil war were nothing."—Let us not, however, be behind-hand with the *Letter-writer*, in praying for the surviving projectors, that they may find like mercy with St. Paul, and on the same consideration, that they *do it ignorantly and in unbelief.*

One of the prime arts of controversy, is misrepresentation. A talent of perpetual use with our *Letter-writer*, but not always with the same felicity.

For example: "Parker and Whitgift," says he, "are degraded into beadles, appointed for " correction only:" p. 8.

Now the author of the preface under consideration says not one word of their appointment, but only of the intention, with which certain persons obnoxious to queen Elizabeth, were delivered over to them. Our present bishops are appointed, among other better purposes, for correction, and hath, each of them, his correction court. Shall we say, that so far as they exercise this corrective authority, they

are degraded into beadles? Such, however, is the import of the *Letter-writer's* comment. But the *Prefacer* hath no such degrading expression, and should be sorry to think the *Letter-writer* was apprehensive it might be applied to any with whom even he hath had connexions. Indeed we have read not long since, of a prelate who had his beadles out of court. If an office of that kind should become vacant, I know not who would venture to contend with our *Letter-writer* for the succession?*

* Since this was written, a formidable rival for the office in question hath publiſhed his pretenſions, brandiſhing his two whips of *Excommunication* and *Deprivation* againſt all thoſe, *who*, IN ANY RESPECT, *depart from the public inſtitution.* A candidate of this complexion, were he to ſucceed, would make us a thin church; for the latitudinarians, a numerous and reſpectable body, muſt unavoidably be driven out by his ſcourge of deprivation. But no matter, the remainder would be very honeſt fellows, and there would be the better pickings for them. The conteſt on the day of election might probably be violent and ſharp. The *Letter-writer* eſpouſes the *Old* poſture of defence, the other is attached to the *New.* This muſt neceſſarily divide and irritate the electors. But whatever might be the event upon a fair poll, no detriment can ariſe to the church. For howſoever their reſpective ſyſtems may look a-ſquint at each other in theory,

'Tis the ſame rope at different ends they twiſt.

It is ſurpriſing how many notable things this new diſciplinarian brings about by virtue of reciprocation and implication: "Obedience "and authority are reciprocal terms.—A power of appointing im- "plies a power of excluding. And theſe, again, imply a power of "excommunicating and depriving."—"True," ſays honeſt old *Benjamin*, "and a power of oppreſſion, implies a power of uſurpa- "tion." Happily our new candidate has no occaſion to incumber his ſcheme of church-authority, with this reciprocation. Old *Ben* fooliſhly went to ſcripture, for an accurate deſcription of men's rights and duties in matters of religion: We are now told, that, "as a member of the Engliſh church, he ought to have ſeen farther, "and judged better." The *Book of Alliance*, is the only ſcripture

Again. Upon the Prefacer's observing, that Wake was not Archbishop of Canterbury, when, at Sacheverel's trial, he spake in favour of reformation, the Letter-writer remarks, that, "with the said Prefacer, it appears a crime "sufficient to be thought worthy of that pre-"ference:" p. 8.

How so, I pray? Wake was thought worthy of that preference, not for his principles discovered after his promotion, but for his professions before it. If, being at the end of his prospects by that promotion, he laid aside the mask and appeared in a different character, they who thought him worthy of that preference were mistaken in their man, as indeed sufficiently appeared in the event.

The observation, that, "it is a common frailty "of human nature to be intoxicated with power "and pre-eminence," the *Prefacer* hath not made special to Archbishops of Canterbury. If it hath happened to more than Dr. Wake in that station, who can help it? Doth the Prefacer say it hath happened to all? So, it seems, the Remarker would have it understood, though he could not but see that two are excepted out of the eight that are mentioned in the preface; and to these, I dare say, the *Prefacer* will be ready to add, Grindal, Abbot, Tillotson, and Tenison. I will even venture to undertake for his agreement with me in my firm belief,

to be quoted on these subjects: And indeed the text might as well have been taken from it, as a place of scripture referred to where the words are not to be found: but where, however, a more satisfactory comment upon them occurs, than that of our candidate.

that posterity will do full justice to the perseverance of that worthy prelate who now fills that important station, in those amiable, candid, and liberal dispositions and sentiments which have marked his character, from his first appearance in public life. In the character of Archbishop Herring both parties seem to agree; but from different motives. His grace's benevolence, it seems, secured the *Letter-writer* from the fatal consequences of a lapse of one of his livings; the *Prefacer* probably knew some instances in which his grace's benevolence had been of more service to the public.

From the leaders of the church, the *Letter-writer* proceeds to the subalterns, at the head of which he places himself, as their universal convocation-man, commissioned, as he would persuade the world, to act and answer for them upon all occasions. "WE," says he, "are "grouped together."

I ask his pardon: the author of the preface hath distinguished them into two groupes. 1. Of men who are deeply affected with the bonds and burdens that are laid upon them, and sensible of the various inconveniences to which they are exposed by their scruples; and, 2. Men who are perfectly callous to all these considerations, and proof against all sensibility of that sort.* With the former of these groupes,

* "I have not," says a most masterly writer, "brought this "palpable contradiction out to view, with any design to reproach or "reflect dishonour upon the clergy. I much rather pity the difficulty "of their situation, and the hardness of the conditions they are obli-"ged to submit to." *A plain and proper answer to the question*, Why does not the bishop of Clogher—resign his preferments? 1753,

the *Letter-writer* hath nothing to do, for he is

p. 10. But surely they who, with these palpable contradictions in their view, "raise violent opposition to the least alteration of what "they have received from their forefathers," are not objects of this pity. They perceive no difficulties in their situation; "and all "one can conclude," says the same incomparable writer, "from "the discourse and writings of many staunch churchmen, is, that "they would have made admirable papists; and never have deserted "the good old cause." *Ibid.* p. 12, 13. This distinction hath likewise been marked in a pleasing and polite *Address to the Rational Advocates of the Church of England*, printed for Dodsley, 1769, —between "those who, for selfish purposes, joined the combina-"tion, to justify all the impositions of an exclusive establishment, be "they right or wrong, by the persuasive argument of pains and "penalties,"—or, those, who, wrapped in ease and indolence, are "content to enjoy the emoluments of it, without ever enquiring "about the truth or meaning of any thing else:" p. 18, 19. These, I say, are distinguished from those, who, "finding their profession "fettered with certain conditions, which they may not perhaps en-"tirely approve of—do yet evidence by their conduct a just and "scrupulous attention to the grand object of it," namely, "the re-"formation, the moral perfection, the happiness temporal and eter-"nal of mankind, by the establishment of religious truth:" p. 20. This conduct consists in taking things they may not entirely approve of, in a certain latitude, both with respect to the sense in which they understand them, and with respect to their usage and practice, in their public ministrations. How far the negative sanction of the legislative powers may justify these worthy persons to themselves for taking this latitude, I presume not to enquire. If this negative sanction has any effectual operation this way, all farther application for a reformation of improprieties in our public forms, seems to be superfluous. But I hope this ingenious author will bear with me in saying, that I am by no means satisfied with one principle on which he seems to rest their justification. It is where he tells us, that, "for "the impropriety of those conditions which these clergyman may not "entirely approve of, as they had no hand in framing or imposing "them, they do not think themselves responsible:" p. 20, 21. But has not this plea too much the air of Hudibras's casuistry?

He that imposes an oath, makes it;
Not he that for convenience takes it.
Then how can any man be said
To break an oath he never made?

no distress about any such matters. If he chuses to put himself at the head of the other band,

Having, by subscribing or declaring their assent and consent *ex animo*, accepted these conditions with all their improprieties, will it be sufficient to excuse their non-performance, to say that they are not responsible for them, because they had no hand in framing or imposing them? and if they do not mean, by getting rid of this responsibility, to excuse their non-performance, of what consequence is it, who is or is not responsible for the impropriety in those conditions, or who had or had not a hand in framing or imposing them? Candor and fair dealing in controversy is never expected from ecclesiastical bigots, and of this the more liberal contenders for latitude have had abundant experience. And yet I know not how it is,—*The Confessional* seems to have incurred the displeasure of both. And though the latter may speak of the author in less disparaging terms, yet they seem disposed to represent him in an unfavourable light, by citing his expressions to purposes, which, with candid readers, he could never be supposed to intend. Thus the ingenious writer before us, having mentioned on what terms the latitudinarians can bring themselves to comply with the establishment, proceeds to ask, would you have them *stand aloof, and try at least what concessions the church would make them, rather than want their services?* It is true, these words are cited from *The Confessional:* But are they fairly cited?—fairly enough, to justify the epithets of wayward, and perverse, bestowed upon the author, in the former part of the paragraph? For to whom are they applied in *The Confessional?* Not to such latitudinarians, as take liberties, "under the negative sanction of the legislative powers, or because they do not think themselves responsible for the impropriety of the conditions in which "they are fettered, and do not approve of, because they had no "hand in framing or imposing them."—It is not of these, or such as these, that the author is speaking, but of the Hales's the Chillingworths, the Clarkes, and the Hoadlys, who by their writings, had rooted up those foundations of church power on which the hierarchists of their times respectively had built their systems. Men who might have claimed a greater degree of respect, on the account of other services they did to religion, than any others, perhaps, who, since those times, have espoused the same principles. And does not the author of *The Confessional* sufficiently intimate, that as these men did not try this expedient, it was not likely to have effect in future

and if they chuse to accept him for their leader, I dare answer for it, the author of the

times, even though attempted by others? Does he not call this, a misfortune both to the preſent and the next generation? Dr. Clarke indeed did ſtand aloof in one inſtance, and it made its impreſſion*. Some great men of thoſe times, perfectly ſenſible of the misfortune that a man of his uncommon merit ſhould be excluded from a more conſiderable ſtation in the church than that which he occupied, and where he made his ſtop, would have made up to him what he loſt in the department of his own profeſſion, through the infelicity of the times, by a lay office of conſiderable emolument. This is not only an inſtance of ſome regard paid by the public to the ſcruples of this great and good man, but an inſtance likewiſe how little he was in love with his own principles of latitude when he came to give them a ſecond conſideration. Again, the addreſſer repreſents the calviniſtical ſenſe of certain of our "articles as appearing to the author of "*The Confeſſional*, the *one, plain, determined* ſenſe of thoſe articles; "and with this repreſentation, he contraſts the variety of ſenſes into "which, he ſuppoſes, the creed of every individual calviniſt to "be ſplit with reſpect to theſe articles." If this repreſentation was intended to accommodate the latitudinarian ſubſcribers, it might have been applied to that purpoſe without this gird at the author of *The Confeſſional*, for whom it is ſufficient, if Ward, Davenant, Carlton, Hall, Uſher, and others of thoſe times to which *The Confeſſional* refers, were uniform and conſiſtent in the ſenſe they put upon theſe articles, as they were ſuppoſed to be well acquainted with the ſenſe of the compilers. The variety of ſenſes eſpouſed by more modern, as well as more obſcure calviniſts, came not into the compaſs of the author's inquiry, who was looking for the interpretation of the church of England, which is commonly underſtood to be beſt authenticated by the comments of her moſt eminent divines. And after all, whatever difference there might be in the interpretations of theſe commentators, they have all of them ſhewed (whatever they have not ſhewn) that all arminian ſenſes are utterly incompatible with the ſenſe of theſe articles, ſo that latitudinarians of this complexion can take little comfort from this repreſentation. I wiſh, when this entertaining writer mentioned the author of *The Confeſſional*, as believing, that "the fathers of our church are now by no means in "love with a laxity of interpretation," p. 29, he had mentioned

* See Whiſton's Memoirs of Dr. Clarke, p. 66, & 85.

preface will have no objection. "These, however," the Letter-writer says, "are described

likewiſe the reaſon given for ſuch belief: which was, their taking Welchman for their guide, in examining the candidates for orders, &c. I believe with him, that there may have been of late, ſome alteration in that uſage, and therefore forbear to bring inſtances to ſupport the opinion of the author of *The Confeſſional*, eſpecially, as ſeveral of them muſt be fetched from the practice of thoſe whoſe aſhes I am unwilling to diſturb. One thing I will undertake to ſay for the author of *The Confeſſional* at a venture, that no man wiſhes more than he, for an "eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, calculated to compre-"hend all that hold the fixed and fundamental principles and points "of faith, in which all ſerious and ſincere proteſtants of every de-"nomination are unanimouſly agreed, and to exclude thoſe only "that hold the peculiar tenets that eſſentially diſtinguiſh all true pro-"teſtantiſm from popery." *Addreſs*, p. 31, 32. And one of his reaſons, I apprehend, from the tenor of his book, may be, that a ſubſcription to forms of doctrine and worſhip, conceived in the ſame words, but ſubſcribed in five hundred different ſenſes, can neither be very honourable to the ſubſcribers, nor to the church which requires it. For my own part, I cannot help ſuſpecting, that there might, after all, be ſome diſagreement among us concerning "the "tenets that eſſentially diſtinguiſh all true proteſtantiſm from popery." I have met with very honeſt and ſenſible men of the ſame denomination, as well as with others of different denominations, who have very different notions of this matter. And were the propoſed eccleſiaſtical conſtitution to be accommodated to ſome ſuppoſed eſſential diſtinctions of true proteſtantiſm from popery, I am next to certain, that the ingenious and ſenſible *Addreſſer* would raiſe up a tribe of *Vindicators*, *Defenders*, *Letter-writers*, &c. with the very ſame clamour in their mouths againſt him, for *ſubverting the whole church of England*, by which the ſnarling bigots of their party have been encouraged to worry the author of *The Confeſſional*. I ſay not this to diſcourage the worthy *Addreſſer* or his friends from his noble and laudable purpoſe. He would not find a man in the kingdom more ready to join him, or more willing to ſacrifice every thing which might look like a private prejudice, to promote ſuch a deſirable comprehenſion as he ſpeaks of, than myſelf. I mean only to warn him what he is to expect. I would willingly perſuade myſelf, that the *Addreſſer* and the author of *The Confeſſional* have but one object, the pro-

" in such language, as a gentleman and a scho-
" lar should never give any one," p. 8. This observation comes, no doubt, with a very good grace from a man who compares his adversary to "a *newgate-bird*, as intending little less " than the subversion of the whole church of " England, just as felons and murderers would, " if they could, overturn all legislation and " magistracy."

Leaving the remainder of this dull, abusive, hypocritical cant to its natural operation upon those for whom only it is calculated, the ignorant, and the credulous, I shall proceed to consider some of the Letter-writer's strictures on the preface, which may seem to be of more consequence.

The author of the preface had said, p. xvi. " I am not sure that he would be mistaken, " who should affirm of the church of England, " (what Luther did of the church of Rome) " that the remonstrances of these disquisitors " have rendered the church more firm and in-" flexible, even with respect to some particu-" lars which seemed to be given up on all " hands, till they were pointed out for refor-" mation by these idle and visionary men."

motion of evangelical truth, piety, peace, and virtue among mankind. If they see the means in a different light, they have a claim upon each other for candour, civility, and mutual forbearance. And though they may differ concerning *negative sanctions*, *self-dispensations*, *responsibility*, &c. with respect to latitude, whether in judgment or practice, I am sure they agree in one thing, namely, in a persuasion, that an obstinate adherence to our present forms will ever be obstructive of religious edification among our people, as well as of concord and charity among their teachers.

"This, he calls, "a mere groundless accu-
"sation; for Luther," says he, "to whom you
"refer, you acknowledge to speak only, and
"he could speak only, of the church of Rome,"
p. 13.

This now is charitable and gracious; for without this explanation of matters, some of his readers, and even some of his admirers, might possibly have taken it into their heads, that Luther had spoken of the church of England, and that too as it hath stood since the days of the Disquisitors.

But I cannot commend his integrity so much in what follows, as by his unfair and trickish management he makes Luther appear more submissive to the church of Rome than he really was, and, consequently, to put the church of Rome in the right and himself in the wrong. Let us examine it.

He pretends to qualify Luther's censure of his popish adversaries, cited in the preface, with some of his sentiments in the context, as exhibited in Seckendorf, and begins with translating the words, *alia est concordia fidei, alia charitatis*, by, "such agreement may respect
"either articles of faith or offices of peace and
"SUBMISSION;" i. e. (to remind him of his own ingenuity) submission to the church of Rome.

Again, Luther says, *omnia facere, pati, servare paratissimi semper fuimus, quæcunque* salvâ fide *præcipi, injungi, & referri possent ab* adversariis. "The protestants," says the translator, "have ever been most ready to do,
"to undergo, and to observe whatever their

"superiors were pleased to require and impose, "where fundamental articles are not concer- "ned." And fundamental articles he explains to mean, articles of faith only; representing the sole obstruction to Luther's agreement with the church of Rome to be, her "requiring as- "sent to articles of faith, which manifestly "contradict scripture."

Which is done like an able craftsman; first turning Luther's adversaries into superiors, and then giving them leave to impose whatever they please upon him, save only articles of faith, contradictory to scripture. And to this only we are to suppose the restriction, *salvâ fide*, extends. And having made up his case, he thus proceeds to sentence.

"Now, Sir, if you and the disquisitors "have proved that WE" (having the church of England in our belly) "impose articles of "faith, as necessary to be believed to salvati- "on, and which we obstinately defend, but "which we were ready to have given up be- "fore you or they wrote, the church of Eng- "land is condemned eventually in this pre- "face."—Otherwise, as it follows, the condemnation falls upon the Disquisitors and the author of *the Confessional*.

We move however in arrest of judgment, and alledge a falsification of the record; for besides that Luther mentions *doctrinæ concordiam*, as well as *fidei*, he hath, in this same preface, these remarkable words; *cum interim non cessent papistæ nostrum sanguinem fundere et haurire—nullam ob causam, nisi quod, contra conscientiam, non possumus* HUMANAS *eorum*

TRADITIONES *Deo et verbo ejus æquare, vel potius super Deum et cultum ejus exaltare.* We have therefore to add to articles of faith, these human traditions, as equally preventive of concord, and equally among the things, which at that time the papists more rigidly and obstinately defended than ever. Nor need we scruple to call many of those things which the Disquisitors proposed to have removed, and which many wise and worthy divines of the church of England had been disposed before their time to have given up, by the name of *human traditions.*

We have only therefore to consider how the case hath stood, since the days of the *Free and candid Disquisitions.*

The compilers of that work, presuming upon the many concessions they had quoted from divines of the first reputation in the church of England, concerning many alterations that might and ought to have been made in our public forms, had no doubt but their proposals would be, if not complied with, received with a candid forbearance, if it was only for the meekness and modesty with which they were addressed to the public in general, and to the venerable fathers of the church in particular.

Instead of that, besides cart-loads of virulent abuse, they were frankly told, that "this at-"tempt of altering our common prayers, was "well known to have had the fewest patrons "among the worthy clergy, as well as among "our illustrious and worthy governors in "church and state, that, perhaps, any other

"scheme ever met with, that has been thus "publicly offered to them."*

Again. Mr. White, who was always understood to write by *authority*, informs us in the preface to his *Free and impartial Considerations*, &c. that, "when those papers were first "drawn up, some few alterations and amend-"ments, such as he judged were most neces-"sary, and might be ventured upon without "hazard, were pointed out and recommended; "and even a way (in several particulars differ-"ent from that which is offered by the authors "of the Disquisitions) was humbly proposed, "wherein, he conceived, such amendments "might properly be made, when those in au-"thority should think fit to enter upon such "matters."†

A confession that amendments in our public forms were proper, and an inclination to point them out, must have been, in so strenuous a defender of the established system against the dissenters, the effect of an uncommon conviction that there was something very much amiss, where, in his opinion, any thing wanted to be amended. But then the HAZARD! Aye, there was the rub.—"These *pointings out*, therefore, "upon second thoughts, and by the advice of "those whose judgment he greatly reverenced, "and could not easily allow himself in any "thing to differ from, he almost entirely omit-"ted, confining himself chiefly to considera-"tions of a more general nature;" about which

* Appeal for a Review, Part ii. p. 87.
† Preface, p. iv.

his advisers knew he might harangue for seven times seven years without the least *hazard* of disturbing any thing by *amendment*. And such impressions had these second thoughts, and this advice made upon him, that by the time he got to the middle of the next page, he took the courage to question, whether there are any such things in our public worship as are not fairly defensible.

It was indeed but an aukward circumstance that Mr. White should drop these apocalyptical anecdotes, for which, I believe, those who employed him would not thank him. But others, who wanted to know the temper of the times, thought themselves obliged to him.

The next year, the Reverend Dr. Shuckford preached the annual sermon or lecture founded by one Mr. Hutchins, in defence of the liturgy, wherein, at p. 22, the preacher says, "the "church of England, without controversy, is "founded upon the principles of order: its "faith is deduced *only* from scripture; its "worship is so framed as to answer well all the "ends of a reasonable service of God, truly to "set forth his honour and glory, by leading "his people to believe and to do as becometh "the gospel of Christ."

There have, nevertheless, been many important objections made both to the doctrine and worship of the church of England, which imply that large abatements ought to be made in this account, with respect to particulars in both.

Of this the preacher is conscious; and therefore, in order to obviate the prejudices that might arise from this consideration, he propo-

ses this question, "*Has the church of* England "*absolute perfection?*" His answer is, "*Let* "*not this question once be named?*" But why not, if his representation be just? Is he afraid the church, after all his encomiums, should not stand the test? Be that as it might, his reason is, "*because, alter what we will, to con-* "*trive and establish any thing* ABSOLUTELY "PERFECT *never can be in the power of man* "*in this imperfect state.*"

What a pity St. Paul did not recollect this pious aphorism when he exhorted the Hebrews to *go on unto* PERFECTION?* Dr. Shuckford, it seems, was of another opinion; and exhorted us to *stop where we are*, since every alteration for the better would be *going on*, one step at least, towards *absolute perfection*, to which it is impossible to attain, in this imperfect state.

I do not meddle with the wisdom or propriety of this reason. It is no great matter what they were; the reason did its business as well as a better, which was to give his audience first, and afterwards the public, to understand, that, reason or none, not a tittle of the public service was to be altered.

Whether any wicked wit had smiled at these instances of the *good sense* and *consistency* of the defenders of the liturgy, I cannot say. But I well remember, that somebody or other about that time said, the same reasons might have been given for continuing the popish missal. For it seems the papists pretended to a scriptu-

* Chap. vi. 1.

ral foundation for their human traditions in Martin Luther's time, as appears by a passage in the preface above-cited.*

Alterations, therefore, were to be precluded by a protestant authority, and a pretence for this was not long in making its appearance, namely, a provision in an act of parliament securing unalterably (according to bishop Gibson) the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of England, which act was made a fundamental and essential part of the union.† And the conclusion drawn from these premises was, that any alterations of the

* *At Papistæ, iniquies, doctrinam Christi æque jactant. Jactant sane, sed ex fructibus arbor cognoscitur.* Seckendorf, part iii. p. 54.

† See Gibson's Camden, vol. ii. p. 1123, and Burnet's Hist. O. T. vol. ii. p. 463. whose account is this: "The archbishop of "Canterbury moved that a bill might be brought in for securing the "church of England; by it, all acts passed in favour of our church "were declared to be in full force for ever; and this was made a "fundamental and essential part of the union. Some exceptions "were taken to the words of the bill, as not so strong as the act "passed in Scotland seemed to be, since the government of it [the "church of England] was not declared to be unalterable. But they "were judged more proper, since, where a supreme legislature is "once acknowledged, nothing can be unalterable." So indeed I should have thought, and that the church of England might be a little more at liberty with respect to alterations at least than the church of Scotland, if these gentlemen had not been so peremptory in the contrary opinion. I have heard it said by a lawyer of the first reputation, that all acts of parliament, whose duration is not expressly limited to a certain term, are in full force for ever, till they are actually repealed. Bishop Burnet, without doubt, knew better than bishop Gibson the intention of the legislature of that time; and if ever the day should come when the question should be concerning the episcopizing of Scotland, Burnet's construction of the statute would, with these same gentlemen, be the most orthodox.

public forms of the church of England would be a breach of the union.

It is not to be told what exultation this discovery occasioned among the anti-reformers. It was the favourite topic at the tables of the great, it was puffed about in magazines and news-papers, harangued upon in certain societies, and now, in process of time, has got into a law-book.

In one thing indeed I must blame the author of the *Confessional.* He has too inadvertently suspected the church of England of this incorrigible spirit, which in truth belongs only to the WEES of one groupe who pretend to answer for her. The church of England freely acknowledges, that her ceremonies at least, that is, her *human traditions are alterable,* and indeed whatever else *by the wit of man is devised,** and that for a very good reason, because it is liable to be corrupted. And as these declarations have the sanction of one of those acts of parliament which are to continue in full force for ever, they who espouse bishop Gibson's comment on the act of security must be left to reconcile these matters as well as they can.

If the Letter-writer should still call for an instance of an increased adherence, since the free and candid disquisitions were published, with respect to articles of faith; though the author of the preface is under no obligation to gratify him, yet possibly enough he might

* See the several prefaces before the Book of Common Prayer.

avail himself of certain transactions relating to the *Athanasian Creed.*

Archbishop Tillotson's opinion of that formulary of faith, is well known. Instances have likewise been given, from Waterland, Wheatley, and others, of allowances that should be made with respect to the damnatory clauses.

That ingenious expositor Dr. Bennet seems to go still farther; in saying, that, "in the "use of the Athanasian Creed, WE do not de- "clare that the belief of every proposition "thereof is necessary to salvation, and that "such a belief is not thought by our church "to be necessary to that end."*

What authority Dr. Bennet had to say this, he best knew. Appearances, it must be owned, are strongly against him. And therefore some worthy clergymen, relying more upon the moderation of their governors than upon Dr. Bennet, and knowing that tradesmen, mechanics, and country farmers are very apt to take things in the plain sense in which they are expressed, and that there is not always at hand a Dr. Bennet to develope recondite meanings to them——upon these and the like considerations, I say, several worthy clergymen ventured to omit this creed when it came in its turn, in the course of their ministrations. And though this was a pretty common practice, yet I believe it would be difficult to produce an instance of any prosecution for such omission for many years before the days of disquisition.

* Dr. Bennet's Appendix to his treatise on the Common Prayer, p. 272.

Now I think these concessions and this connivance shew sufficiently, that there was a pretty general disposition to give up this creed, and especially if what Dr. Bennet says is true, viz. that "the church of England does not "think the belief of every proposition in that "creed to be necessary to salvation;" for as the church of England hath not distinguished between the propositions which are, and those which are not necessary to be believed to that end, neither Dr. Bennet, nor Dr. Waterland, nor any other Doctor, hath a right to make the distinction in the name of the church of England; and the consequence will be, that it does not appear that the church of England thinks the belief of any of the propositions in that creed necessary to salvation; and if not, why should not the whole creed be given up?

However, in no long time after the *Free and candid Disquisitions* appeared, a prosecution was set on foot against a clergyman, beneficed in the diocese of Canterbury, for taking the liberty to omit this creed, when it was enjoined to be read.* Whereby an hint was given to others, that no farther indulgence was to be allowed in like cases.

* Dr. Carter of Deal in Kent. A full view of this remarkable case may be had by perusing the following tracts. A letter to the mayor and corporation of Deal in Kent, printed for Shuckburgh, 1752. *Dr. Carter's sermon before the said mayor and corporation*, August 9, 1752, with a remarkable Preface, printed by Cave. Dr. Herbert Randolph's sermon, preached in the parish church of Deal, October 15, 1752. Printed at Oxford, with the vice-chancellor's imprimatur. Dr. Randloph was supposed to have had a hand in the presentment of Dr. Carter.

I omit the case of Dr. Clayton, the late learned and worthy bishop of Clogher (who fell a sacrifice to his free sentiments concerning this creed,) because it may be said, it is not an english example. Be it observed, however, that some, who were among the foremost of his adversaries, carried both their spirit and their principles over with them from England, which were much of the same complexion with those of our *Letter-writer*, on the same subject.* But this *ex abundanti.*

The *Letter-writer* acknowledges, p. 15. that "persons disaffected to the church of England "as it now stands may not so easily get pre-"ferment;" to which he adds, "and you, Sir, "if you had power, I fear, would be full as "apt to put those who dissent from your no-"tions, into what you call the starving inqui-"sition as any of the bishops are."

How come the bishops in here? Have the bishops occasion to be vindicated by a comparison of their conduct with the supposed disposition of the author of the Preface? will their

* It was reproted about that time, that bishop Clayton's speech and motion in parliament prevented his advancement to the archbishoprick of Cashel. Some people, who were not unconscious of the proceedings in Ireland, were said to have boasted, that the bishop of Clogher was *fretted to death.* It is not improbable that the proceedings in Ireland might have had English consequences, if the liberal-minded prelate, then newly promoted to the see of Canterbury, had not, upon being applied to, absolutely refused to give any countenance to those proceedings. However, if the *Letter-writer* should think this an instance in point against the author of the preface, let him reflect that it is *rara avis*, and that himself has furnished us with an anecdote to balance it, namely, that this respectable prelate did not patronize the *Free and Candid Disquisitions.*

lordships thank him for his compliment? especially when it is considered, that by "Per-"sons disaffected to the church of England, "as it now stands," he ought to mean no more than persons who desire to see a reformation in the church of England, and who have been thought by men, and even by some bishops (full as wise, and good as the *Letter-writer)* to be the church of England's very affectionate friends?

But whence does he conclude, that the author of the preface, if he had power, would be no better than the bishops. It is from the circumstance, it seems, that "*his* articles are but "imperfectly known."

Now I know of no *articles* proposed by the author of the preface,—none indeed which he seems willing to admit of, besides those in the holy scriptures. If those articles are but imperfectly known to the *Letter-writer*, he is to be pitied, being so well affected to the church of England as it now stands. But surely it is not so civil to make this declaration on the behalf of the whole groupe for which he undertakes to answer. But the bishops had had their compliment, and the subalterns must not be overlooked.*

The next occasion of offence is, that the Prefacer hath called the few answers that have

* Two or three of them indeed seem to have accepted it, with great complacency, viz. The facetious author of the *Doubts*, the judicious Dr. Nowell, and the sagacious writer on *Confessions*, who have endeavoured to return it, by bearing their testimony to the excellence of his letters.

been made to the remonstrances for a farther reformation, weak answers; and to this the *Letter-writer* puts in his claim to think differently of their strength, on account of his "right "of private judgment." p. 15.

Which I dare say will be readily admitted by the author of the Preface, provided the *Letter-writer* will agree to submit the points in difference to a fair examination.

So far as I have seen of this controversy, the great objection brought to the arguments of the anti-reformers has been, that arguments of the same tendency, and some of them equally strong, were brought by papists against Luther's reformation, and even by the jews and heathens against the propagation of christianity.

Some of these arguments are advanced by the *Letter-writer* to confront the Prefacer, in which however I can find nothing but what a Pharisee or an Ephesian craftsman might have alledged against the first preachers of the gospel, or an *Eccius* or a *Prierias* against the German Protestants, with equal pertinence and propriety.

For example. The doctrine of the first christian teachers was such as both the Jews and heathens understood would, in the event, subvert their respective establishments. And their arguments were, of the first, *If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him;* of the others, that *Paul persuaded and turned away much people*, which tended to ruin the establishment of the great goddess *Diana*. The papists were

equally alarmed and equally concerned at the progress of the protestant reformation, and the inroads it made upon the strength of their party.

The same apprehensions possess our Letter-writer. "Few, if any of them (says he, meaning dissenters) would come over to us, if "they were relieved in relation to some scruples; and if alterations were made with respect to others, more of our own people "would leave us, than we should gain from "them." p. 16.—No matter whether the scruples in question are just or reasonable or not; the grand consideration is, what numbers we should gain or lose; and if the alterations would put us upon the losing side, good policy determines how we should act.

He says indeed, "there are some alterations "which cannot be made without sin." *Ibid.* I wish he had specified some of the alterations he means. There is a brother-craft, and a great admirer of his letters, who seems to me to have made an unlucky concession, that will certainly require some explanation, from the one or the other of them.

The case is this. By way of precedent for establishing unscriptural or systematical forms of faith and doctrine, the anti-confessionalists have informed us, that there were in the primitive church certain fixed formularies of apostolic authority, lodged with the bishops of those days as a κτημα εις αει, a sacred depositum, to be referred to at all times as a standard of orthodoxy. These formularies, it is confessed, no longer appear. And to obviate the charge

of unfaithfulness or negligence in those who suppressed them, or suffered them to be lost, the author of *Letters concerning Confessions of Faith, &c. occasioned by the Confessional*, thinks it was prudent in these bishops, after a certain time, "to prevent these apostolic forms "appearing any more:" and this for two reasons. 1. "That these formularies being rather "human than divine, it was not necessary that "they should be preserved with the same care "as the divine writings: and 2. That the vari- "ation of the cases and situations of particu- "lar churches, and of the same church at dif- "ferent times, might make it prudent to vary "these old apostolic forms," even, we must suppose, till there should not be one shred of the old formularies left; for that is the case at this period.*

Now what I would know of the Remarker on the Preface to *The Confessional* is, whether those forms which he thinks it sinful to alter have more of the divine in them, than those apostolic forms entrusted to the primitive bishops? If he cannot support this supposition, he is desired to be very explicit in his information, what circumstance either of necessity or prudence it is, which would make it sinful in our present church governors to alter any of our present forms, that would not have made it sinful in the old fathers to alter forms, of at least equal authority?

* See letters, p. 33, 34.

It has been formerly recommended to the gentlemen who labour in the good work of answering *The Confessional*, to confer notes with each other, previous to their respective publications, that they may not be perpetually drawing each other into these fatal scrapes.

The author of the Preface is charged with *want of decency*, for giving the epithet of *hackney'd*, to certain forms in frequent use in the church of England.

But where is decency violated by this expression? which seems to have been intended, not so much to undervalue the forms themselves, as to reprove the practice of those who are so commonly observed to dispatch them *upon the spur*. At the worst, it is full as decent as the terms, *impertinent* and *strange*, applied by the commissioners of 1689, to some of these forms.* What does he think of *a doctrine skulking in an old homily*, to which he himself has subscribed *ex animo*, and which actually *skulked* in the act of uniformity till the revolution, and *skulks* in the homily to this hour; in an homily appointed to be read once, if not twice, in every year.†

* See Dr. Birch's Life of archbishop Tillotson, octavo, p. 195.

† On the 30th of January, are appointed to be read, the first and second parts of the homily against *Disobedience and wilfull Rebellion*. On the 5th of November, one of the six homilies against Rebellion; any one of the six, and on a day when solemn thanks are given to God, "for delivering our church and nation from popish "tyranny and arbitrary power, by bringing in King William III." Now what were the means of this deliverance? Even the expulsion of another king; who if the homilists are to be credited, ought not to have been resisted at any rate. The act of uniformity stands in every one's view who has a common prayer book, which made it ne-

But these were great learned men who took these freedoms, and who were very well able to answer for themselves, and did not want the *Letter-writer's* admonitions.

The Prefacer, p. xviii, xix, had mentioned his apprehensions, that "some aukward constructions might be put on the conduct of "those men who have passed by serious and "important remonstrances on the article of a "farther reformation, with a supercilious contempt; when contrasted with their weekly "exhortations to christian piety and virtue, "or the zeal they occasionally express for the "protestant religion and government; in so "far as to bring their sincerity in question."

This our *Letter-writer* confronts with the following representation. "The clergy of the "church of England encourage no changes "in ecclesiastical matters which they think "wrong and unreasonable, and are not vehement for others which they think of little "moment. THEREFORE, notwithstanding "lives uniformly and diligently spent in practising and teaching the protestant doctrine, "and supporting by word or deed our civil "establishment, they are hypocrites void of "all regard for either." p. 18.—And then, addressing himself to the author of the Preface, he asks, "Can you seriously judge "thus?"

ceſſary to take away this doctrine out of it, by another act. In the homily it ſtill *ſkulks*, but is ſubſcribed to, to this day.—Is a change here wrong or unreaſonable, or of little moment?

Why truly, to be plain with him, if the *Prefacer* did not judge thus before, this representation is enough to make him judge thus of the *Letter-writer* and *his* clergy; one can hardly conceive a stronger exhibition of pharisaical boasting, even in the original prototypes of ecclesiastical pride and hypocrisy. "WE are "the *sole* judges of what changes are or are "not wrong and unreasonable, of little or "great moment, in ecclesiastical affairs. And "we ought to be supreme and uncontroulable "in this province, because we are uniform and "diligent in practising and teaching the pro-"testant doctrine, and supporting by word or "deed our civil establishment."

What think you, Sir? are not these premises sufficient to authorize any conclusion that may be made in favour of clerical authority? Are they not a very proper preface to an exculpation from the charge of self-adulation? which is the next thing that comes under our consideration, and which I shall examine very particularly, as it will afford us a complete view of the principles of the *Letter-writer*, which on some other occasions he chooses not to own.

The church of England, you will please to observe, is to be defended from the charge of self-adulation, by the testimony of three foreigners in her favour, who are supposed to be totally disinterested, as having no connexion with her in point of conformity.

These three are, *Hugo Grotius*, his son *Peter*, and *Isaac Casaubon;* and their evidence is cited from their letters written at different and

very distant periods, and when the church of England was in very different situations.

Casaubon's testimony is the first in order of time, and is taken from a letter of his to *Salmasius*, dated London, Nov. 10, 1612.* A circumstance by no means convenient for the Letter-writer to disclose. The passage is this :

Quod si me conjectura non fallit, totius reformationis pars integerrima est in Anglia, *ubi cum studio veritatis viget studium antiquitatis; quam certi homines dum spernunt, in laqueos se induunt, unde nisi mendacio postea exuere se nequeunt.*

Now to this testimony we object, I. on account of the incompetency of the witness, and, II. with respect to the matter of his evidence.

1. Casaubon was, at this time, a conformist to the church of England; and enjoyed two prebends, the one in the church of Canterbury, the other in that of Westminster.† Consequently he cannot be admitted to give his evidence as a foreign protestant, being one of the family at that time, and concerned to support the self-adulation as much as any of them.

2. He was strongly, and not unjustly, suspected of an inclination to turn papist, ‡ and

* It is the 709th of the Brunswick edition, of 1656.

† Biographia Britannica.

‡ See his letter to *Daniel Heinsius*, No. 634, of the edition above mentioned. There is something suppressed in that copy of it, which is restored in the *Amsterdam* edition of *Epist. Præstant.* et *erudit. virorum*, 1660, p. 344. See likewise *Epitres Francoises des personnages illustres et doctes à Monsieur Jos. de la Scala*, collected by *Revius*. *Hardeirwick*, 1624, Liv. iii. epist. 42, p. 419, from Mr. *Gillot* to *Scaliger*, where, after giving an account of the noise that *Casaubon's* expected conversion had made at *Paris*, and

most probably would have done it, had not Henry IV. died when he did.* The only question seems to have been, whether Cardinal Perron or the Jesuits should have the honour of converting him. The Cardinal says, that Casaubon was once so fully determined to change, that he desired Perron to name a day when he might make his abjuration.†

particularly of his conference with Cardinal *Perron*, he adds, " *Je* " *croy que ou il vous escrira, ou vous en a escrit, et vous envoyera* " *l'epistre qu'il escrivit à Monsieur* du Perron *sur ce sujet.*" But Gillot was mistaken. For though Casaubon did write an account of his conferences with *Fronto Ducæus* and other Jesuits to Scaliger, yet he made no mention of that letter, nor of any debate with Cardinal Perron, in it.

* Grotius affirms it without scruple. *Quod* Auratus *fecit*, (speaking of one *D'or*, who had turned papist) *idem fecit ante hac vir doctissimus* P. Pithœus: *idem constituerat facere* CASAUBONUS *si in* Gallia *manssisset, affirmavit enim id, inter alios, etiam* Cordesio [*Descordes*] Grot. epist. 610, p. 939. In another epistle he says, Casaubonus *Samores multo putabat Catholicos* Galliæ, *quam* Carentonianos. Epist. 1613. p. 940. They of Charenton knew this very well, and of his wavering between the protestant and the popish faith, and therefore obliged him to explain himself, in a letter which they took care to have printed. *Biog. Brit.* CASAUBON [ISAAC]. This forced meat Casaubon did not relish; and therefore, when he got into England, he abused the ministers of Charenton heartily, in that letter abovementioned, written to Heinsius: and likewise in this to Salmasius, from which our Letter-writer hath cited this testimony in favour of the church of England. It seems, the French protestants did not think Casaubon proof against popery even in England. Peter du Moulin wrote to Dr. James Mountague bishop of Bath and Wells, to inform him " that Casaubon had " a great inclination to popery, that there were only a few articles " that kept him among the protestants, and that if he returned to " France, he would change his religion as he had promised; and " therefore he desired the bishop to endeavour to keep him in Eng- " land, to engage him to write against the Annals of Baronius." Biog. Brit. [L].

† *Perroniana, au motte* CASAUBON. What it was that disappointed this ceremony, is not said. Probably a political reason,

On these accounts, we are well justified in objecting to Casaubon's testimony, as an indifferent witness on the behalf of the church of England.

II. We object to the matter of Casaubon's testimony, in placing the integrity of the church of England in the study of, or attachment to, antiquity. Part of this antiquity which Casaubon so much approved of, was the introduction of pagan rites, and pagan names for christian rites into the church, by the fathers. The protestant church of England abhors the practice; and what Casaubon meant for a compliment to the church of king James's days, would deservedly be esteemed her reproach in the present times.*

respecting both sides. For Perron thought that Casaubon, without professing popery, would do more good to the catholic religion than was imagined; and says that Monsieur Boderie demanded his Congè for a year, on account of the service he would do to religion among the English." *Ibid.* In which they were not deceived. It is probable, Scaliger was aware of Casaubon's duplicity. He did not like his journey to England; and says, he had no invitation thither but from a secretary, who wrote a letter to him, *inscio Rege*, and prophesied Casaubon would get nothing by going there; in which however Scaliger was mistaken. *See l'Historie de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. I. p. 349.

* See *The Confessional*, 2d edit. p. 334, note f; but more especially Le Clerc's *Bibliotheque Choisie*, *Tom* XIX. Art. IV. p. 231. e. q. f. where Casaubon is justly reprehended for a conduct so inconsistent with the character of a protestant divine, and represented as a man having his head heated with expressions of the fathers, which are highly improper, and have no foundation in the first institution. One of Casaubon's reasons for approving and defending this practice, was its expedience in order to reconcile the pagans to the christian faith and worship. Whereupon Le Clerc remarks, that "the fathers did not bring pagan rites and pagan terms "into christian worship by way of condescension, knowing them to

2. To Casaubon the english prebendary, we oppose the testimony of Casaubon the foreign protestant, who tells Cardinal Perron, in the letter which the pastors of Charenton made him write, and took care to publish, that "the pro-"testants, trusting to the power of God (mean-"ing the efficacy of the Holy Spirit mentioned "just before), were ready to shew, that the "papists boasted of antiquity in vain, who, "undervaluing the scriptures, in a manner "surprising to the protestants, substitute the "authority of antiquity in the room of reason."*

"be otherwise improper; but they mingled their own pagan opi-"nions and practices with christianity, without being aware of it." *Ibid.* p. 232. in agreement with the observation of an eminent prelate of the present time, that "the fathers undertook the defence "of christianity before they understood it." The truth is, Casaubon was antiquity mad, and bore down every protestant principle to make way for it, for which he sometimes got very handsomely reproved. See a letter of Andrew Reuchlin to him. *Præst. ac Erudit. vir. Epistolæ, &c. Amsterdam,* 1660, oct. pag. 422. These extravagancies were highly agreeable to the king and the english bishops of those times. Casaubon, however, had his lucid intervals, and in one instance at least was not *mouldy* enough for his masters. He happened to agree with Scaliger, that the Sibylline verses were spurious, which brought upon him the indignation of Dr. Richard Mountagu bishop of Norwich, expressed in his *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, chap. iii. It should seem as if this prelate had a quarrel with Casaubon on some other account. See *Bibliotheque Choisie*, Tom. iii. Art. iii, p. 191.

* *Nos freti virtute Dei, parati sumus ostendere, frustra antiquitatem ab illis jactari, qui sacræ scripturæ, miris modis, ut quidem videtur nobis, detrahentes, vetustatis authoritatem pro ratione obtendunt, epist.* 360. Here seems to be a very fair and full appeal from all ecclesiastical antiquity, to scripture and reason. But his drawbacks upon this true state of the case, which he made when he got among the φιλαρχαιοι of England, by distinguishing between true and spurious antiquity, and classing the adoption of pagan rites under the former of these denominations, spoiled all.

The next affidavit in course of time, brought by the Letter-writer, is that of the great *Hugo Grotius*, cited from an epistle to *John Corvinus*, and dated Paris, May 28, 1638, at a period when Archbishop Laud was in all his glory, *praising God for that power he had given to the church to rule the consciences of men.** Upon the accession of this prelate to the See of Canterbury, Grotius wrote him a complimenting letter, congratulating the church of England, upon her having a president, who would, as far as circumstances would allow, recall all things to the purest pattern of ancient christianity.† This being premised, we procede to exhibit the testimony.

In Anglia *vides quam bene processerit dogmatum noxiorum repurgatio, hac maximè de causa, quod qui sanctissimum negotium procurandum suscepere, nihil admiscuerunt novi, nihil sui, sed ad meliora sæcula intentam habuere oculorum aciem.*‡

* See Mrs. Macaulay's History, vol IV. p. 151.

† Epist. 372, p. 136.

‡ Epist. 966, p. 434. It seems Grotius's wife had said, that her husband's religion "was the faith of the ancient fathers." Mr. Le Clerc, a much greater admirer of Grotius, than he was of a whole cart-load of fathers, would needs have these ancient fathers to be, the first disciples of the apostles. Why not the apostles themselves? The truth is Le Clerc knew Grotius neither meant the one nor the other: but this he was not to own to Arnauld and Jurieu, with whom he was at war. Grotius had explained himself too often and too clearly on this head for any man to mistake him: He calls the rule of the council of Trent, viz. that the scriptures are not to be interpreted but by the unanimous consent of the fathers, a most wise one. Rivet. Apolog. Discuss. p. 725, And of the acts of that council in general, he says, *si quis leget animo ad pacem propenso, is inveniet ea commode et convenienter, tum sacrarum scripturarum,*

Corvinus, to whom this epistle was written, was, as we perceive from the former part of it, a great admirer of ecclesiastical antiquity, a warm advocate for Grotius's project of uniting the papists and the protestants upon the system of the fathers, in the promoting of which, Grotius acknowledges, he was an industrious hand. A project, by the way, which no man (who was not a dupe and a visionary) ever espoused, without meaning to bring the protestants over to the papists.*

From these anecdotes we learn, that the *noxia dogmata* intended by Grotius were, those doctrines and principles which tended to check the tyrannical practices of the domineering prelates of those times; that the *repurgation* of them consisted in inflicting fines and imprisonments, whippings, and mutilation of ears and noses, and other wholesome severities of the pillory and the gibbet; that there was no innovation in those consecrations, bowings, images, and genuflexions, branded by the Puritan-parliament as popish inventions; nor in those exemptions from all temporal jurisdiction,

tum veterum doctorum locis ad marginem positis, posse explicari. Opusc. Theol. fol. p. 682. These and the like commodious explications gave Burigni, the catholic writer of Grotius's life, room to claim him as a *stray* of mother church; and indeed I do not know who can shew a better title to him.

* Casaubon was another of these reconcilers, and was mad enough to think, or courtier enough to say, that Cardinal Perron was a very proper person to bring the union about. But when the Jesuits began to abuse him for his Epistle to *Fronto Ducæus*, he changed his note, and, in a peevish fit, threw out to an anonymous correspondent, *Jam intelligo meram esse insaniam sperare, posse aliquid profici* MODERATIONE. *Epist. Brunf.* p. 979.

which the clergy claimed, and, with the archbishop at their head, attempted to have confirmed; and finally, that the whole of Laud's reformation was *sanctissimum negotium*, a *most holy business*, for which, they who undertook it deserved to be canonized.

But the pleasant part of the story is still behind. Immediately after Grotius has paid his compliment to the church of England, he brings in *Socinus* for a share of it.

"Socinus, says he, without designing it, "sometimes stumbled upon the senses of the "ancient church, and, being ingenious, culti- "vated that province very happily. He mixed "indeed other things with those senses, which "detracted from his authority even when he "delivered the truth."*

What a pity Socinus did not stick to these senses of antiquity unmixed! What an opportunity did he here lose of vying in orthodoxy with Archbishop Laud! and of what significance was it, in comparison with this honour, what should become of those truths which were out of the pale of antiquity!

Our *Letter-writer's* third and last testimony is from Peter Grotius the son of Hugo, exhibited in an epistle dedicatory of his father's annotations on the old testament, to our king Charles II.

A man must be hard run for evidence, when he fetches it out of a Dedication, and a Dedi-

* Socinus, non hoc agens, in antiquæ ecclesiæ sensus non nunquam incidit, et eas partes, ut ingenio valebat, percoluit feliciter. Admiscuit alia, quæ, etiam vera dicenti, authoritatem detraxere.

cation too to a sovereign prince, to say nothing of the personal character of the patron. However, let us hear it; and that it may lose nothing of its weight, the reader shall have a little more of it than the Letter-writer thought it necessary to communicate:

Tu enim inter omnes reges, unus ille es quem protectorem suum, pars christiani orbis, si non major, sanior certe, *jamdiu agnoscit. Tu idem ille cujus* [se] *fidei et defensioni ipsa se fides christiana non invita subjecit, cujus potissimum in regnis, is sacrarum literarum intellectus, is Divini Numinis cultus, is in excercendâ nimia illa disputandi licentia de arcanis fidei dogmatibus licentia, receptus est modus, quibuscum convenire se auctor, idemque parens meus, jampridem testatus est, et publice scriptis suis professus est.*

Now, in the first place, I would desire to know by what authority this *Letter-writer* would engross *all* this *sanity* to the church of England? How will he go about to prove, that the Dedicator did not intend to compliment the Monarch with the protection of all the reformed churches in Europe? He hath committed, we see, the christian faith itself to King Charles's *fidelity* and *defence;* and I would hope that this Peter Grotius did not mean to confine the christian faith to the dominions of the King of England. But then you will say, what a small portion of this sanity will fall to our share, if it is to be parcelled out to presbyterians, independents, anabaptists, quakers, and what not that calls itself protestant!

Have patience; honest Peter perhaps may make us amends, by his enumeration of those advantages which he makes special and peculiar to the King's particular dominions.

And here we must own the compliment is confined to the church of England. The *Letter-writer* only got hold of the wrong end of it. It ends, we see, in praising the king, for having found the way to silence a number of impertinent and licentious fellows, who would needs be *prying into the secret doctrines of faith*, pretending to *understand the scriptures* as well, and to worship God with as much propriety, and to as good purpose, as his established sages.

And this, I dare say, is the sanity, which the Letter-writer meant by his application of this adulatory rescript, to appropriate to the church of England: and is indeed the *sanity* which was the effect of old *Grotius's repurgation*, and shews us just this and no more, that the son was as much in love with Sheldon's starving inquisition, as the father had been with Laud's whips and pillories.

I meddle not with the Letter-writer's translation, or comment upon these passages; I charitably hope he did not understand them: and, if I might advise him, that should be his plea for producing them. For what must even the more moderate of his own party think of his deriving glory to the church of England, from the wretched divinity, and more wretched church-politics, of James I. and his two next lineal successors?*

* James had the honour to burn a poor crazy heretic, on which exploit Casaubon pays him the following compliment. " Arrianum

I have been the more particular in examining these three foreign testimonies, that I may save myself the trouble of taking the same pains with some others, which the Letter-writer hath brought, among other pillage, from the late bishop Ellis's Tory pamphlet on behalf of the Test-act,* and which rest chiefly on the credit of Dr. Durel, who thought himself concerned to shew the agreement of the reformed churches beyond the seas, with the church of England as by law established, in order, I suppose, to

" in sua perfidia obstinatissimum, qui in vinculis diu detentus, revo-
" cari ad sanam mentem nulla ratione potuerat, flammis ultricibus
" TUA MAJESTAS, impatients injuriæ factæ Domino nostro Jesu
" Christo Deo αντιζω, jussit tradi." *Epist. Dedic. ad Exercit. in Baronium.*

* The author of the Preface, &c. is reproved by the Letter-writer, for not taking notice of this respectable performance in his account of the controversy on the Test. p. 66. But what is there in it, I wonder, that either required or deserved this notice? Not one scriptural argument for the Test, not one answer to bishop Hoadly's argument, grounded upon the nature of Christ's kingdom. Nothing, in short, but an invidious detail of abuse and misrepresentation of the protestant dissenters, of the political usefulness of certain bishops, in certain times, to certain statesmen, which nobody ever denied; and the old arguments for the divine right of episcopacy, which have nothing to do with the Test. In this state of things, what wonder the author of the Preface should consider the writer of this book, as one who followed in the cry, taking the scent upon trust from those who, a year or two before, had determined that no time would be proper to repeal the Test; the pamphlet indeed having no name or note to distinguish it from the most obsequious of those who in those days sung to the tune of the times. Not to mention how soon after its appearance, the principles there retailed were *disoriented* by the publication of the famous book of ALLIANCE.

make his frequent transitions from the one to the other the less remarkable. *

These testimonies I shall therefore dismiss with a few general remarks.

1. It is a just observation of bishop Ellis, (Plea, p. 11.) that "Dissenters are not free "from the common passions and desires of "mankind," and is just as true of the members of the reformed churches abroad, as of our dissenters at home. Hence it is easily conceivable, that vanity and interest might get the better of principle in one or two foreign divines, of some of the reformed churches. Many of these were poor, and obscure, and others of them on ill terms with their brethren, when these testimonies were given. Is it impossible that an handsome gratuity, or even the honour of corresponding with an english bishop, might not prevail with some of them to stretch their complaisance (a virtue for which the French are universally celebrated) beyond their real sober sentiments? However. I verily believe this was the case with very few.

2. It is not impossible to suppose, that a leading man in a presbyterian synod or consistory, finding his measures crossed and thwarted by his collaterals, might, in a fit of frailty,

* An account of this doctor may be found in Wood *Athen. Oxon* vol. I. col. 731.) who, who with all his whitewashing of Durel, and blackening his antagonists, has much ado to make a respectable picture of him. If any one would know the degree of deference due to the authority of Dr. Durel, he will meet with a satisfactory account of him in a little book intitled *Bonasus Vapulans*, written by the learned Mr. *Henry Hickman*.

wish that he were a bishop, and speak advantageously of an office which would effectually secure him from the like mortification. *Du Plessis Mornay*, who was often in these humiliating circumstances, might, very likely, utter the speech ascribed to him by Dr. Ellis (p. 84. of his Plea) under this kind of sensibility.*

3. The english divines often obtained these concessions (for indeed the best of them is no more,) by stating the points in difference between them and the dissenters fallaciously and unfairly; which appears to have been the case with the three letters from Messieurs *Le Moyne*, *de L'Angle*, and *Claude*, exhibited by bishop Stillingfleet, in his book of the *Unreasonableness of Separation*. This is plainly shewn by *Gilbert Rule*, with respect to the two former.† And when Monsieur Claude understood what disingenuous use had been made of *his* Letter, he wrote a second, in which he qualified the former so far, as to make it of no manner of service to Dr. Stillingfleet's cause.‡ The learned Bochart however was not so to be imposed upon. Bishop Morley wrote a letter to him, wherein he pretended to prove that the presbyterians held that "Kings might be resisted, if "they behaved ill; and might even be depo-"sed, or executed, if they could not be brought "to reason." And this the bishop pretended to prove by the fate of Charles I. But Bo-

* *See Vie de Monsieur du Plessis*, passim: and *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, particularly *Tom.* ii. pp. 115, 332.

† Rational Defence of Nonconformity, p. 274, 275.

‡ Calamy's Abridgement of Baxter's Life, vol. I. p. 358.

chart, in answer, shewed this to be a calumny, and fully refuted it.*

4. The English and Scotch presbyterians, when these passages had been brought against them, have always objected, that these foreign divines were by no means competent judges of their case and situation. In some instances, they charged their British brethren with what they never held; in others, they appeared to be totally strangers to the nature of their objections against the establishment, and particularly the sort of episcopacy to which they made exceptions, and the powers which were claimed and assumed by those who exercised that office in this country, and against which the foreign protestants in general had often and vehemently protested.†

5. Some divines of the church of England have had, in some instances, the art to make these foreigners say, what they neither said, nor meant to say. As this comes home to the Letter-writer, and his oracle bishop Ellis, it is

* Rational Defence, p. 276. In the same page Mr. Rule shews, by a remarkable instance, the industry of the Hierarchical divines of those times to suppress such testimonies of foreign Protestants as made against them. Take it in his own words: Mr. *l'Arroque*, "the famous and great antiquary, having writ a book wherein he "sheweth the conformity of the discipline of the protestant church "of France (which all know to be presbyterian) with that of the "primitive church, and another in defence of *Mr. Daillé* touching "the letters of *Ignatius* and the *Apostolical Constitutions*, against "Dr. Pearson and Beveridge, and having designed a reply to their "answer, that they had made to him, at the request of some that "favoured episcopacy, he did not finish his answer.

† See Rule's *Rational Defence*, u. s. and Pierce's *Vindication*.

necessary to be particular. The bishop presents us with the following testimony on the behalf of the church of England, as from the learned Frederic Spanheim :

" The learned Spanheim, writing to Arch-
" bishop Usher from Geneva in 1638, says, I
" often call to mind *that pleasing face of things*
" *in* YOUR CHURCH, that reverence in the pub-
" lic worship of God, that attention and fer-
" vour of your countrymen in the service of
" God—the like to which you will hardly find
" elsewhere."*

Now who would not think from bishop Ellis's management, that Spanheim was fallen over head and ears in love with surplices, copes, and every rag of Archbishop Laud's furniture, to be met with no where in those days, but in the face of what was called the established church? When I first met with this passage in Dr. Ellis's book, I thought it a very singular compliment to the episcopal church of England, from a leading pastor and professor of Geneva. Having, however, some suspicion that the Doctor's predilections in church matters might warp him a little in his representations, I determined to consult the original, which happened to be at hand, where I found it thus written :

" Obversatur mihi crebro grata ista ECCLE-
" SIARUM VESTRARUM facies, ista in publicis
" pietatis exercitiis reverentia, ista attentio,
" iste VESTRATIUM in Dei cultu fervor, iste
" magnatum et privatorum zelus, ista publica

* Plea for the Sacramental Teſt, p. 22.

" simul ac domestica pietas, patria genti ves
" træ virtus, cui geminam frustra pené alibi
" quæras, vix certé reperias." *

Let us now come to particulars. "Writing" says Dr. Ellis, "to Archbishop Usher." True, but writing likewise in the very same epistle to three more, namely, Philip (whom, by mistake, he calls *Philibert) Herbert*, *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*, and John Maitland, the heirs respectively of the Earl of Pembroke, the Marquis of Douglas, and Lord Lauderdale, three young noblemen who received some part of their education at least at Geneva, and most probably under the direction of Spanheim himself. Hath history recorded that these noblemen were members of the established church of England?

Indeed, in some paragraphs of this Dedication, Spanheim addresses himself to each of his patrons separately, but in this where the passage in question occurs, he speaks to them all together *(Præsul reverendissime, Comites nobilissimi;)* and therefore, by the words *ecclesiarum vestrarum*, must be understood to take into his compliment, not only the church of Scotland, but all the protestant churches of Britain and Ireland, in many of which, it is well known, in those days, the forms of the church of England were not observed. And yet we see the honest pleader for the sacramental test engrosses the whole encomium to Archbishop Usher's church, only, † as if there were

* Spanheim's Dedication to part III. of Dubia Evangelica.

† The time when Spanheim was in Britain, was several years before 1638 *(ante complures annos.)* Archbishop Usher's church,

neither reverence in the public exercises of piety, attention or fervour in the worship of God, in any of the rest, or indeed any where else, but in England, as Dr. Ellis's acceptation of the word *vestratium* plainly implies.

In truth, the forms and rites of no particular church whatever are the object of Spanheim's elogy in this passage. It is the piety, devotion, and attention to religion, of the whole people of Britain that he commends, as the context shews, of high and low, nobles and commonalty, of whatever denomination that fell under his notice, during his residence in this kingdom.

I do not know what the reader may think of this tampering with evidence; but in certain transactions between man and man, it would certainly be called *subornation*. And yet, though the falsification is so gross, there is found in this Letter-writer an affidavit-man, who carries the matter farther than the bishop himself, and tells us, p. 51.—"As to THE LITURGY, Spanheim, professor at Geneva, in

properly speaking, was the church of Ireland, concerning which we are informed, that "King Charles I. or rather Archbishop Laud, "forced the church of Ireland to conform to all the English rites "and ceremonies, in spite of Archbishop Usher, who was much "troubled at it." *Pierce's Vindication*, p. 287; *Heylin's Life of Laud*, p. 272, e. q. f. *Parr's Life of Usher*, p. 53. This happened in the year 1634. So that, supposing it possible for Spanheim to mean Archbishop Usher's church only, the church of England could hardly come in for any share of the elogy in this dedication, at the time referred to by the Dedicator. And, perhaps, the church of England, as established by Laud, had the least title to Spanheim's compliment at the time he was in Britain, of any protestant church in the whole island.

"a letter to the Earl of Lauderdale, extols "and admires the public worship of God, and "public piety of THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, "whereof," says he, "the like is not easily to "be found elsewhere." Was this an honest blunder, or an honest artifice to cover his plagiarism from Ellis's plea? To be sure, the Earl of Lauderdale could not but be highly gratified with an encomium on the english liturgy.

6. There have been, and no great wonder, high-churchmen among the clergy of all sorts of religious societies. That Monsieur Du Bosc, with whose testimony, in favour of episcopacy, Dr. Ellis, and after him our Letter-writer, have made such a figure, was of that complexion, there can be no doubt. Mr. Le Gendre, Du Bosc's biographer, has very well accounted for this flight of his hero's prelatical spirit, by acquainting his readers in a note, with Mr. Du Bosc's prepossession in favour of the divine right of kings. Bayle * tells us,

* *Bayle's Dict.* Du Bosc (Peter) Rem. [H]. It is a little unfortunate, that most of these testimonies of foreign protestants are contrasted with something in the history of the men from whom they are cited, which destroys the utility of them, with respect to our Letter-writer and his friends. Bayle gives us the following anecdote from Du Bosc's life by Mr. Le Gendre: "One day, the bishop "of Châlons shewed Du Bosc his house, which was richly furnish-"ed, and the apartments very sumptuous; and asked him, what he "thought of it, and whether he looked upon that magnificence to "be very apostolical? Mr. Du Bosc, who would neither disoblige "his benefactor, nor belie his own character, answered, that he "(the bishop) had two titles in the city; that he was Count and Bi-"shop of Châlons, and that his dignity of Count gave him quite "different rights and privileges from those of episcopacy. That he "saw nothing in his house that was above the magnificence suitable "to a peer of France." Rem. [D]. But what was suitable to

however, that the presbyterians complained of Du Bosc for this declaration; and with reason. It was not true, that necessity compelled the reformed churches not to have bishops. It was their choice and their principle. The plan of Geneva was adopted and followed by all the French churches; Charles IX. complained, that the French churches were furnished with ministers from Geneva; * and no good reason

the simplicity of a christian bishop Du Bosc doth not say. I much question whether this concession of Du Bosc in favour of episcopacy, separated from the dignity of peerage, would have been accepted by the political bishop Ellis. These are traits in the countenances of the foreign divines, which our testimony-mongers chuse to conceal. They have dealt with us just thus, in their appeal to the Sieur Du Plessis, whose testim ny concerning episcopacy they have retailed with great precision; but have carefully concealed the conference the said Du Plessis had with certain English bishops in the year 1591, and particularly with Richard bishop of Bristol, Great Almoner to the Queen, expostulating with them, with "what conscience they could "molest the puritans, who agreed with them in the same faith, for "simple ceremonies, whom, on the contrary, whether their nonconformity arose from infirmity or moroseness, they ought charitably "to have borne with." *La vie de M.* Du Plessis, p. 168. What sort of Episcopalians are these, who would strip the prelacy, on the one hand of its magnificence, and on the other of its ceremonies?

* *Spon's Hist. of Geneva,* p. 121. *sub anno* 1561. And what reason he had for that complaint, appears from the following passage: *Cardinalis* [Lotharingiæ] *quidam dissipavit* Parisiensem *Ecclesiam, sed ab eo tempore, in aliis locis regni* Gallici *plures quam sexaginta institutæ sunt: nec possunt* Genevenses *tot ministros suppeditare, quot ab ipsis petuntur.* Langueti, Epist xi. lib. ii. *dat ult. Januarii,* 1560. It is true some of the lutheran churches were a little better disposed towards episcopacy in process of time. But at the beginning they were equally untractable on that head as Calvin was afterwards. *Satis certus sum,* says Melancthon, *quod non liceat episcopis onerare ecclesiam, et ita scripsi in confessione, neque id muto.* Epist. x. lib. i. *ad Lutherum.* From this point *Melancthon* was obliged to recede at the Augsburg conference, *anno*

can be given why Calvin might not have settled the episcopal form of church government at Geneva, if he had so thought fit. But so far was he from this, that having described the office of bishops in the ancient churches before the papacy was erected into a tyranny, (where, by the way, he shews the bishop was only *primus inter pares)* he says, "even such a bishop "was, by the confession of ancient writers, "introduced by human agreement, and through "the necessity of the times."* Whether Calvin was in the right, is another question. My business is only to shew, that these testimonies are nothing to the Letter-writer's purpose.†

What would the Letter-writer say, if one should bring a testimony from a moderate roman catholic writer, expressing his fears for England, on account of the great power of the

1580. Concerning which he writes thus to Luther, September 1, 1530. *Valde reprehendimur a noſtris, quod juriſdictionem Epiſcopis redimus. Nam vulgus aſſuefactum libertati, et ſemel excuſſo jugo Epiſcoporum, ægrè patitur ſibi rurſus inponi illa vetera onera, et maxime oderunt iſtam dominationem civitates imperii,* Epiſt. xvii. lib. i. Accordingly afterwards the Lutheran churches were generally ſettled in the conſiſtorial way. Vide Seckendorf, lib. ii. p. 174.

* *Id muneris ſuſtinebat Epiſcopus, in Preſbyterorum cœtu. Atque id ipſum* PRO TEMPORUM NECESSITATE *fuiſſe humano conſenſu inductum, fatentur ipſi veteres.* Inſtitut. lib. iv. cap. iv. ſect. 2.

† Biſhop Ellis, and after him the Letter-writer, had the diſcretion not to mention Mr. Claude's evidence produced by biſhop Stillingfleet, as they were conſcious how impertinent Claude's explanation of himſelf, mentioned above, had made it to the point in hand. But, in truth, what that gentleman there ſays on his own account is equally applicable to moſt of the authorities brought from others of the ſame perſuaſion.

bishops, lest it should fall under the ancient tyranny of a prelatical hierarchy? Yet such a testimony is extant, as may be seen in the margin.*

Of the very same stamp are the authorities he cites from the dissenters at home, and from those he calls their friends; among which, Walsingham's Letter in bishop Burnet's History, is produced, first by bishop Ellis, and from him by our Letter-writer, p. 29.

In the first place, I object to this letter for want of authenticity. It is without date of time or place. No one knows who *Mons. Critoy* was, nor what could occasion him to make such an inquiry into Queen Elizabeth's dealings with the puritans, as required an answer from a secretary of state; and the historian gives it only as a translation, said to be taken from the original.

* Anglis *ego timeo. Fpiſcoporum magna illa poteſtas, licet ſub rege, prorſus mihi ſuſpecta eſt; ubi vel regem facilem nacti fuerint, vel manti ſpiritus archiepiſcopum habuerint, regia authoritas peſſundabitur, et epiſcopi ad abſolutam dominationem aſpirabunt. Ego equum ephippiatum in* ANGLIA *videre videor et aſcenſurum propediem equitem antiquum divino. Verum omnia divinæ providentiæ ſubſunt.* Preface to Brown's tranſlation of Father Paul's Letters, p. li. Mr. Brown, knowing how diſaſteful this language would be to his brethren, makes a variety of apologies for his author for—ſpeaking the truth. Among other things he ſets forth the tyranny of Bancroft in ſtrong terms. And ſo far the Prefacer muſt think himſelf obliged to him, as that detail of Bancroft's exploits is a full anſwer to every thing the Letter-writer hath brought on his behalf, and might ſave the trouble of giving any other. Be it obſerved, by the way, that the doctrines advanced in biſhop Gibſon's Codex were, about the year 1736, ſhewn to have a direct tendency to verify father Paul's prophecy, by one of the greateſt and moſt upright lawyers of his time.

But admit the letter to be genuine, why should we give Sir Francis Walsingham more credit than the Letter-writer himself does? Walsingham, in 1583, wished "King James "not to impute to the queen those things "which had lately fallen out in Scotland."* But the Letter-writer is positive, p. 25, "that "this same queen supported the Scotch pres- "byterians," by whose opposition those very things had fallen out; for which fact, there is indeed much better authority than his own.†

The gentleman, I doubt not, will have so much wit in his anger as to say, that Sir Francis was here playing the politician; and that, whatever the truth was, it was not his business to shew his mistress in an unfavourable light to the king of Scotland. But neither was it his business to give the Frenchman an unfavourable idea of the queen's treatment of the puritans. And yet as surely as Elizabeth supported the presbyterians in Scotland, so surely did she not pay sufficient regard to conscience, when she chose to enforce conformity.

Nothing, for instance, could be farther from the truth, than that "when the puritans "refused the use of some ceremonies and rites "as superstitious, they were tolerated with "much connivancy and gentleness." Nobody knew better than Walsingham himself that this was absolutely false. In 1583, Sir Francis wrote a letter to Archbishop Whitgift, in favour of one Mr. Levermore, "a man of good

* Biog. Brit. WALSINGHAM, Rem. [K.]

† See Bishop Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. iii. p. 329, 330.

" report, and whom he had found conforma-
" ble, and willing to observe such orders as
" are appointed to be used by the church."
That is to say, sufficiently conformable according to law. But not the least indulgence was to be had for him, from the sturdy prelate; nothing less than subscription to his own articles, for which he pleads the queen's wish and desire, and is not content that Levermore should subscribe, as far as *the law requireth at his hand*, a point which he would not leave to the determination of lawyers, but took it upon himself; and that he might rack the man's conscience to the utmost, he fixes meanings of his own to Levermore's general expressions, strives to ensnare him with interrogatories; and when Levermore and such as he stood upon their privileges as christians and Englishmen, it availed them not. They were arbitrarily rejected in consequence of his Grace's pious declaration that he would, as far *as he could, promise that none should thereafter come into the church to breed new troubles.* In which he was surely in the right, if he was not wrong in calling these poor men's scruples by the name of *atheism.**

Again. Walsingham is represented in this letter, as charging the puritans, " with making
" many subjects in doubt to take oaths, which
" is one of the fundamental parts of justice in
" this land." (A passage, by the way, which the Letter-writer, modestly enough, drops in his citation, though Dr. Ellis was not so scrupulous.) As if the queen's subjects were by

* Fuller, Ch. Hift. B. ix. p. 162.

the puritans brought in doubt, about oaths of all sorts; or as if the oath *ex officio*, to answer interrogatories put to them for the purpose of accusing themselves, was a part of the fundamental justice of the nation. Could Walsingham be either so ignorant, or so disingenuous?

I have passed by the citations he brings from some of the old puritans to shew that they condemned the separation of some men, or rather the reasons for their separation which some men gave, who, the Letter-writer would have it understood, were of the main disciplinarian body—I have passed by these, I say, as of no sort of consequence, unless the Letter-writer will allow the objections of Cartwright and the rest, against the government and discipline of the church of England, to be of equal weight. The truth is, these separatists were Brownists, "whose rigidness," Mr. Pierce informs us, "the puritans always disliked, and were the "chief writers against them; for which," says he, "the bishops, according to the usual gra- "titude of that time, rewarded them with si- "lencing, suspension, and imprisonment."* It may, however, be worth remarking, that, according to bishop Stillingfleet, three of the four reasons given by Barrow and Greenwood for their separation, were taken from Cartwright's Admonition to the parliament.† Whence I think it may be concluded, that Cartwright's intention in writing against the Brownists, was not so much to justify the church of Eng-

* Vindication, p. 144.

† Unreasonableness of Separation, p. 28.

land, as the Letter-writer would have it, as to correct the too violent operation of his own physic.

Cartwright was a formidable adversary, and out of all question, one of the most learned divines of his time. All concessions from such a man must have been very valuable to the opposing party, when they could be had. When they could not, he was then, *a dealer in words, but barren in matter, a man perfectly childish, holding with papists, &c.**

However, it seems, he went out of the world, if not *in the odour of sanctity*, with a very good grace, "seriously lamenting the troubles "he had occasioned in the church by the "schism he had been a great fomenter of, and "wished he was to begin his life again, that "he might testify to the world the dislike he "had of his former ways; and in this opinion "he died."†

This, however, is the man who is cited by the Letter-writer, as writing against the schism. But that is nothing; this last testimony is *instar omnium*, and it is worth our while to inquire how the Letter-writer came by it.

Cartwright died in the year 1601. Bishop Morton in 1659. In the year 1662, or thereabouts, Sir Henry Yelverton published a little posthumous piece written by bishop Morton, with a preface of his own, in which he gives the reader this recantation, as a cordial draught, I suppose, for the *Barthelemites*. Well, but

* First Letter p. 70. † Ibid. p. 68.

how came Sir Henry Yelverton by this anecdote? Why, "a sober person had it from "Cartwright himself on his death-bed, that "sober person told it to one in Warwick, and "that one in Warwick told it to Sir Henry "Yelverton;" and so out it comes for the first time, with these respectable attestations, sixty years after Cartwright's death.

Which puts me in mind of a story I have heard of the origin of the tale of Oliver Cromwell's meeting the devil in a wood. "*Dost "thou not know,*" says Dr. Bentley to a reader of history, "*where* Echard *got that curi-"ous tale? Why then I'll tell thee. He had "it from* C—lb—tch, *who had it from an old "woman in Suffolk.*"*

And yet our Letter-writer glibly swallows this *bon morceau,* and much good may it do him. But let him not attempt to cram it down people's throats who have not so large a swallow. Nothing, indeed, can possibly be too tough for the digestion of a man, who can retail for authentic the exploded forgeries of *Heath* and *Commyn.*

In what light the dissenters of the present day may look upon these testimonies and concessions of their predecessors, I have no opportunity to know. The Letter-writer insinuates, p. 63, that they are a different sort of people from what they were then, "and have fixed "their separation upon so very different a "footing, that they would slight the alterati-"ons proposed in 1689 as trifles, and make

* Bentleiana, MS.

"demands of quite another nature." To this I can say no more, than that I suppose they are kept out of the church for want of some concessions; but with the nature and extent of their present demands, I am utterly unacquainted. All I know is, that these foreign testimonies, and domestic concessions, were utterly futile and impertinent, in the light of objections, to the demands of their venerable ancestors; whilst they could appeal to the testimonies of Usher, Williams, Prideaux, Brownrigg, Ward, Featly, Hacket, five of them bishops of the established church, that the liturgy ought to have been amended in above thirty of those places to which they made objections, not to mention Archbishop Usher's plan for the reduction of episcopacy.*

What authenticity the author of the preface might allow to bishop Barlow's account of the Hampton-court conference, I pretend not to say. The Letter-writer, it seems, was mistaken a little in that matter, for which, having made the *amende honorable*, he may be now excused. But, to speak my mind freely, I look upon Barlow's account as a real farce, a kind of a tragi-comedy of three acts, full of fictitious circumstances, contrived to set the bishops in the best, and the ministers in the worst light possible.†

* See the Conformist's Plea for Non-Conformists, p. 23—30.

† See Calderwood's Hist. of the church of Scotland, p. 474; Pierce's Vindication, p. 155; Hickman's Review pf Heylin's Certamen Epistolare, p. 28; Fuller's Ch. Hist. b. x. p. 21; and the Letters at the end of Barlow's Account, Phœnix, vol. I. Of

The consequences, indeed, were totally tragical, as the author of the preface hath observed; and this the Letter-writer would excuse, by alledging, that the ministers, upon the event of the conference, promised to be quiet and obedient. But he well knows, that these ministers had no commission to answer for the whole body of the puritans. Conscious of this, after jumbling together the different sentiments of particular men at very distant times, he comes to this frigid conclusion: "the truth "is," says he, "the duty of toleration was "scarce seen by any on either side."

No! what became of queen Elizabeth's principle, mentioned in Walsingham's letter, that *consciences are not to be forced?* What was become of all those excellent pleas for toleration urged by our first reformers to the persecuting papists? And what will become of all those apologies our Letter-writer hath made for Parker and Whitgift, who asserted the necessity of obedience to the establishment, and to the queen's laws, as they called them? Bancroft and Laud preached the same doctrine, and the Letter-writer accepts it for orthodox;

the tragical part of this farce no inſtances are wanted. All the world knows it. In the comical part, the Letter writer is a little intereſted. He had, p. 67, very ſeriouſly quoted the Royal Moderator, at this conference, for an *eloquent* ſaying, *viz.* that "ſuch ſtrict reformers "as rejected every thing the papiſts uſed, muſt go barefoot, for the "papiſts wore ſhoes and ſtockings." Barlow obſerves, that the King ſaid this to Dr. Reynolds, merrily; and indeed a merry argument it is: but extremely well calculated for the ſerioufneſs of our Letter-writer, and his friend biſhop Ellis, who deal much in this kind of concluſions.

and indeed his oracle bishop Ellis could not have budged one foot in justification of the sacramental test, without accepting it too. All which presupposes, that the parties concerned were very well acquainted with the just limits of the duty of toleration.

"And therefore," says the Letter-writer, "our censures of both should be tempered "with great compassion." Why then let our compassion be extended to Pole, Gardiner, and Bonner, for they had the same things to say for themselves, and even to those puritans, whom, though without power, our Letter-writer determines to have been persecutors in their hearts, for as sure as ever they should come into power, they would justify their intolerance by the very same sort of pleas.*

The small mistake in the citation of Pierce's Vindication, *Pref.* p. xxiv. will be easily rectified, by removing it to the end of the fore-

* It is a mere idle fancy to suppose that any party whatsoever, since the strong fortress of popery was broke into, should have been ignorant of what is due to the rights of conscience in matters of religion. Their own sensibilities in a state of suffering prove, in a thousand instances, that they were not ignorant of it. Even bishop Poynet in the days of Queen Mary could say, "Civil power is a "power and ordinance of God, appointed to certain things, but "no general minister over all things. God hath not given it power "over the one, and the best part of man, that is, the soul and con-"science of man; but only over the other, and the worst part of "man, that is, the body, and those things that belong unto this "temporal life of man." *Treatise of Politique Power*, 4to, edit. 1642, p. 23. One might trace the knowledge of this principle through many books published in almost every year, down from bishop Poynet to bishop Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying: which leaves our Letter-writer's heroes, and even bishop Ellis himself, without excuse.

going paragraph, and placing the note of reference before the other three authorities. It would not indeed have been worth notice, if the Letter-writer had not called for a proof that Bancroft was the prototype of Laud's and Sheldon's politics: for in the page of the Vindication, where he could not find any thing relating to the stopping of the embarkation, he might have found ample proof of Bancroft's "ensnaring men into subscription, of his cunning in secreting the number of nonconformists from the king and the lords, with a menace to those whose subscription was respited *for some short time*, either to conform at the end of it, or *to dispose of themselves and their families some other way*, as being men unfit, for their obstinacy and contempt, to occupy such places."* The very plan pursued by Sheldon afterwards.

The Letter-writer cavils at a passage in the preface, where it is said, that "Bancroft forgot to tell Spotswood, how many ship-loads he had terrified into the plantations;" and says, "the first ship-load of puritans that we know of, about 120 persons, did not go to America till ten years after Bancroft's death:" p. 41.

It is true, Smith and Robinson, with their several congregations, were terrified first into Holland, whence the latter, after some years stay, went with the remains of his flock into America. Robinson went to Amsterdam in 1608. Smith, some time before, but both of

* Pierce's Vindication, p. 169, 170.

them, "by reason of the persecutions under "Archbishop Bancroft growing hotter." Here then are *two* ship-loads terrified *out of the land*, at least, by Bancroft. My author, whom I cite in the margin, * gives an account of two more ship-loads, who went from Hull about 1607, and probably joined themselves to Smith's congregation.

But were none terrified into the plantations during Bancroft's reign? The Letter-writer says, "none that he knows of." Nevertheless, we have the following account in Wilson. "The first who sent a colony into this coun-"try [New England] was the Lord Chief "Justice Popham, in the year 1606.—The first "planters in New England, having seated "themselves low, few of them were left" [some, however], "to direct those that suc-"ceeded in a better way. Yet people, by "dear experience, overcame it by degrees, "being YEARLY supplied by men whose in-"dustry and affections taught them there was "more hope to find SAFETY in New England, "than in the old."† In 1614, one or more ship-loads embarked for New England, were stopped, but afterwards suffered to go.‡

Sir Richard Baker is very circumstantial in his account of the settlements in Virginia, and of the numbers that were sent there in 1607, 1608, and 1609, to the amount of 290 persons. He agrees with Wilson, that the first attempt

* Neale's Hiſt. of New England, vol. i. p. 73—78.
† Wilſon's Life of James I. p. 75, 76.
‡ Ibid. p. 74.

to settle New England was made in 1606; after which, he speaks of "many attempts to "settle a plantation there, of many miscarri- "ages and disasters in making the attempts, "till, in 1624, there was a plantation settled, "though but a small one."*

With respect to those who went to Virginia, *Rapin Thoyras* says expressly, that, "on ac- "count of Bancroft's never ceasing to plague "the puritans, great numbers of them resolved "to go and settle in Virginia, which was dis- "covered in the late reign by Sir Walter Ra- "leigh."†

Now how will the Letter-writer come off? Did he, or did he not know of these ship-loads? If he did not know of them, he is a little too positive in his contradiction. But I am rather inclined to think he knew of these migrations very well, and that he is prepared to inform us, that the people who composed them did not go by *ship-loads*, but by the means of *wings* and *cork-jackets*.

The Letter-writer, after representing the author of the preface as a *disturber*, and as an exception to his own general rule, that (contrary to Spotwood's complaint) *the more such disturbers are tolerated, the less noise they make*, goes on thus:

"And unless such noise be more hard to "cure than their halting, you gave us a con- "trary instance from Fuller, who informs us "that many cripples in conformity, at that

* Chronicle, p. 447, 448.

† Vol. IX. octavo, 173. p. 312.

" time, were cured of their halting therein, by " not being tolerated." p. 42.

By not being tolerated! Alas! poor souls, they never intended to try, whether they should be tolerated or no. The king's religion was to be *their* religion, at all events; and they would have made just as good papists, or mahometans, as church-of-England men, had the king thought fit to take his rule of faith from the decrees of *Trent*, or the *Koran*.

If Fuller had represented this case in ambiguous terms, it had been no wonder that our Letter-writer should, in the simplicity of his apprehension, have taken the wrong side of it: but he had cunning enough to perceive, that to take it in Fuller's plain meaning, might have suggested an unlucky comparison of the conduct of these men with that of some of his conforming friends. He chose therefore rather to mold it after his own idea, which appears too evidently to be, that a little of the old monarch's *harrying* would be no improper remedy either for the *noise* or the *halting* of the present times.

With respect to the matter of fact, to shew how dextrously the WEES of the groupe (who, in Archbishop Tillotson's phrase, WILL *be the church of England)* * can turn the same incident to different purposes, as different occasions demand, take the following account of it from one of the religious convocation-men of 1689.

* Birch's Life of Tillotson, octavo, p. 242.

"In the beginning of King James the first's "reign, the presbyterians of this kingdom en- "tertained violent hopes of an ecclesiastical "revolution; and gave out every where, that "the king, having been bred in Scotland in "the presbyterian way, was desirous of a "change in favour of it. *A great number of conformists,* and a much greater number than "have yet appeared for this new project" [the intended comprehension of 1689,] "joined "with the nonconformists, defamed the com- "mon prayer without measure, declared they "could never subscribe again, though they "had done it several times before. You know "the issue; they found themselves mistaken "in the king's intentions; the moderate men "were glad to be reconciled, and the church "outlived the hasty triumphs of her enemies, "and the treachery of her pretended friends."*

"In the place which you quote from Rush- "worth," says the Letter-writer, "to prove "that the malicious Laud, that they might "reap no advantage from their industry, &c. "contrived to cramp their trade by foolish "proclamations, there is absolutely nothing "more than an order of council, April 6, "1638, at which three privy councilors" [There were thirteen] "besides Laud were pre- "sent to talk of a late restraint, which, &c." p. 38.

Judge, reader. At the end of this order of council are these very words: "And that Mr.

† Remarks from the Country upon the two Letters relating to the Convocation and the Liturgy, London, 1689, at the end.

" Attorney General shall forthwith draw up a " PROCLAMATION, expressing his Majesty's " royal pleasure to prohibit all merchants, " masters, and owners of ships, from hence- " forth, to set forth any ship or ships with pas- " sengers for New England, till they have " first obtained special licence on that behalf, " from such of the lords of his Majesty's most " honourable privy-council as are appointed " for the business of foreign plantations." Of whom, Laud was the leader and principal. And that there were more orders of council to the like effect, the Letter-writer himself acknowledges.

I am unwilling to put him to more shame upon this subject; but his next fraud is so palpable, that there is no excusing it. He tells us, that, in the order of council, "a reason is " given of this direction; the disorders and " want of government in that colony, through " which well-affected persons had suffered much " loss in their estates by the unruly faction, " whereof sundry and great complaints had " been made, and proved to be true."

Would not any man now conceive that this *unruly faction* was made up of traitors and rebels to the king and the state? Who then were the complainers? Oh! that should have come in at the gap, which is filled up in the order by those who are well affected to religion, as well as government. That is to say, by the creatures of Laud, against the nonconformists of New England, whom the pious Archbishop, like his worthy descendants of the convocation 1689, would not allow to have *any religion*.

And is not this absolutely clever, to keep a profound silence both with respect to the religion and the proclamation mentioned in this order of council, for the laudable purpose of giving the lye to a troublesome antagonist?

The Letter-writer may do as he pleases for me, whether he will believe Dr. Heylin or not, that there was a project to send a bishop to America with an army to support his authority, at the time referred to in the preface. But the fact being admitted (and why it should not no good reason can be given,) he will make himself perfectly ridiculous, to form so much as a doubt that Laud was the president of that college of chief physicians who were to take especial care of the church's health. Let me intreat the reader to peruse the whole passage in Heylin; and then declare upon his honest word, whether Heylin could have learned to descant so scientifically on the distemper of New England, or what was the proper method of cure, any where but in the school of his master Laud.

As I profess to be entirely upon the defensive, I have but little to do with the Letter-writer's speculations, which do not immediately affect the prefacer upon whom he remarks. But as he, on the present occasion, chooses to indulge his genius in a meditation upon the more modern project of episcopizing our American colonies, I hope he will give me leave to recreate myself and my readers, with a short observation upon it.

Having allowed that the design of sending a bishop to New England, with an army to back him, was a wicked one, he thus proceeds:

" And it would be a wickedness of the same, " I mean of the persecuting kind, to restrain " those whose consciences chuse episcopal go- " vernment from having bishops in such man- " ner settled among them, as to have no con- " cern with persons of different sentiments, " nor encroach on any man's civil or religious " rights, nor make any change in the consti- " tution of the government, or the powers of " the magistrate administering it." p. 39.

This is all very fair and moderate; nor can I see any more harm in it, than there would be in not restraining those whose *consciences* do not *chuse* to wear their own hair, from having a periwig-maker settled among them. But the misfortune is, that these gentlemen of the groupe, let them wear what periwig they will, cannot upon all occasions disguise their genuine complexion.

It was but at p. 36, that our Letter-writer dropped a pious intercessory ejaculation, that " the sect of anti-episcopalians might not be- " come too powerful in America." Now nothing in the world so promising to obviate this impending evil, as settling episcopal government among them; but to what purpose, if episcopal government is to have no concern with persons of different sentiments, to encroach upon no man's religious rights, nor make any change in the constitution of their ecclesiastical government? It is a clear case, that the Americans, in our author's account, can only be too powerful as a sect, and *quatenus* anti-episcopalians. Convert them, and the danger is over. Episcopalians cannot be

too powerful. But this can never be done with the scanty faculties allotted by our Letter-writer to American bishops. However, as I have no doubt, but the checking these too powerful sectaries is one inducement to our Letter-writer's conscience to chuse episcopal government for America, I think him much in the right to get his bishops thither at any rate, and to trust for the rest to the chapter of accidents.

It is a very soft character our Letter-writer gives of Archbishop Laud, that he was "too "vehement in his natural temper, and too "fond of externals in religion." It is too well known into what outrageous acts of violence and cruelty the former broke out in the exercise of his public office; and into what abject and ridiculous acts of gross superstition he was transported by the latter. It is impossible to impose upon the world, by pretending to balance these with some good qualities in his private character. What is his generosity and munificence to a few individuals, or even to some public societies; to his oppression of multitudes who had the first claim upon his benevolence, and whom, instead of encouraging and protecting in the enjoyment of their civil and religious rights, he endeavoured to deprive of every human comfort, merely for asserting them?*

* A pamphlet juſt publiſhed, and now before me, the author of which ſeems to me not to be over well diſpoſed towards the colonies, hath the following paſſage: "The ſeverity of the Laudæan "perſecution increaſing, a number of gentlemen of figure and eſ- "tate made a propoſal to the company for ſettling Maſſachuſetts "Bay, to go themſelves over, and ſettle in the country." *A*

He had learning, it is true; and he wrote a good book against popery: but what merit could he claim for this, while he was all his life time acting for it?* How many thousands would be well acquainted with his ecclesiastical edicts, and eye witnesses of his whole pontifical apparatus, who would never read a line in his book, perhaps never hear of it? What

ſhort view of the Hiſtory of the Colony of Maſſachuſets Bay, London, 1769, p. 27, 28. Poſterity, we ſee will call the actions of their predeceſſors by the right names, in ſpite of all prejudices and gloſſes of particular perſons. Is the driving whole families of *figure* and *eſtate* out of the kingdom to be palliated, by calling it *the effect* of a vehemence of natural temper?

* To give all the proofs of this that are extant, would be to tranſcribe Dr. Laud's whole hiſtory from the firſt notice the world took of him. Suffice it to refer the reader to the laſt chapter of Gage's Survey of the Weſt Indies, in the folio edition, for the expurgators after the reſtoration took effectual care to have it caſtrated from the ſubſequent editions in octavo, as injurious to their ſaint and martyr. However, in 1712, when Laud's high church poſterity were furiouſly purſuing his plan, an honeſt man ventured to publiſh this obnoxious chapter in a ſmall octavo pamphlet printed for *Popping*, in *Paternoſter-row*, with a ſmart preface, cenſuring the roguery of the Expurgators, and eſtabliſhing Gage's veracity, which indeed is now put out of all diſpute, by the publication of the Clarendon papers. I cannot reſiſt the temptation of preſenting the reader with a ſenſible reflection of the editor, reſpecting Mr. Wharton's teſtimonies in favour of this archbiſhop, contraſted with Gage's account of him: "It is not pretended, ſays he, that Laud approved "the doctrinal articles of that church; but 'tis poſſible, that one "who diſlikes many points of the romiſh faith, may yet be very "fond of introducing her tyrannical government; and, in order to "it, of amuſing the poor laity with the long train of her gaudy and "myſterious ceremonies, that, while they ſtand fondly gazing at "this lure, and are buſied about impertinences, they may the more "eaſily be circumvented into irrecoverable bondage, by men of "deeper but more miſchievous deſigns." I would humbly recommend this paſſage to the ſerious contemplation of the Letter-writer. I can aſſure him, it is underſtood to fit others of more recent memory than Archbiſhop Laud; ſome of thoſe in particular, whoſe defence he hath undertaken in this letter.

the Letter-writer says of his converting Chillingworth, wants proof;* and what he adds of Hales's wishing he had died in his stead, may be ranked among the tales of Laud's converting Hales from socinianism, of Hales's recanting the heresies contained in his tract of schism, propagated by Heylin, Long, Echard, and others of that cast.†

The Savoy conference is the next particular worth notice; concerning which, the difference between the Letter-writer and the author of the Preface is, on which side lay the hypocrisy, sophistry, &c. of that memorable assembly; which may easily be decided by the following authorities, without descending to particulars:

"The party in the house of Commons, says

* Archbishop Laud, in his speech before the Lords, quoted by Des Maizeaux (Life of Chillingworth, p. 11, 12.) pretends to no more than bringing Chillingworth back from Douay. But Anthony Wood, an evidence in this case, *omni exceptione major*, ascribes his leaving Douay to other causes, without mentioning the archbishop, till he speaks of Chillingworth's arrival in England. Ath. Ox. vol. ii. col. 42. Chillingworth himself, in the dedication of his immortal work to King Charles I. puts his conversion upon his "having, with "the greatest equality and indifferency, made enquiry and search into "the grounds on both sides;" and if we may admit of any bias given him in this search, it must be imputed to Dr. Potter's Answer to *Charity Mistaken*, which, as Chillingworth says in the same dedication, "was written by special order from his Majesty;—perad-"venture not without some aim at the recovery of one of his sub-"jects, [Chillingworth himself] from a dangerous deviation." How shall we account for his omitting all mention of Laud on this occasion, and at this period of time [1637], if Laud had been a material instrument in his conversion?

† See *Des Maizeaux*, *Life of Hales*, Rem [G & H] and Rem. [O] p. 87.

" Lord Clarendon, that was devoted to the " King, and to the old principles of church " and state,—thought not fit so to cross the " presbyterians, as to make them desperate in " their hopes of satisfaction; but, with the " concurrence of those who were of contrary " factions, diverted the argument, by pro- " posing other subjects of more immediate re- " lation to the public peace, to be first con- " sidered and dispatched, and the model for " religion to be debated and prepared by that " committee which had been nominated before " his Majesty's return to that purpose: they " not doubting to CROSS and PUZZLE any per- " nicious resolutions there, till time and their " own extravagant follies had put some end " to their destructive designs."* Which *per- nicious resolutions*, and *destructive designs*, were aimed at—a *reformation* in the church.

Here we have a fair confession to what all Charles the second's declarations, conferences, and commissions tended; namely, to *divert*, *cross*, and *puzzle* the nonconformists, till, by the strength of party, means might be found, and pretences taken, to narrow the terms of conformity, and to plague them to the purpose, which was happpily accomplished by the Savoy conference.

So however it happened, that many of the nonconformists, being men of sense and penetration, and having detected the cunning of the artificers, contrived to *counter-cross* and *counter-puzzle* them, which Lord Clarendon,

* Clarendon's Contin. and Life, vol. ii. p. 17.

and after him our Letter-writer, charges upon their disingenuity and want of integrity, without the least intimation of the pernicious policy of the chancellor and the bishops, which made the nonconformists so jealous and circumspect. " The despised presbyterians, says " Mr. Pierce, were not so stupid, as not plain- " ly to perceive at what King Charles was " driving."*

For my own part, I think bishop Burnet's account sufficient to justify whatever the author of the Preface hath said upon the subject; but to put the matter out of all doubt, the following character of the commissioners on each side, by a candid and ingenuous conformist, who lived in those times, will give full satisfaction to the cavils of the Letter-writer.

" The commissioners who pleaded for a union " without a reformation, were the *strongest* " and *stiffest* of any in the church of England. " Men of great learning, long experience in " the ecclesiastical government, and that had " suffered much, and were much exasperated, " as being (several of them, next the bishops) " most obnoxious to the Parliament, as most " *guilty of innovations in doctrine and disci-* " *pline*, by the informations and complaint of " as learned and as great men as any of them " in the church of England, as may be easily " produced out of the best accounts of those

* Vindication, p. 228. Dr. Nichols was obliged to confess that the bishops knew it at last, but still went on, and " complied with the " Court, *for fear of being accounted* FANATICAL," which was ten times worse than being accounted POPISH. Defence, p. 37.

" times; all except Dr. Morley, Dr. Earle, " Dr. Sanderson (against whom I remember " no complaints), and a few beside. Their " constancy and sufferings did recommend " them to the king's favour, and the great " agreement in their general design held them " to one another; and having the disposal of " preferments as they pleased, or at least the " recommendation of candidates, expectants " complied with them, and were forward to " walk according to their measures. The mode- " rating bishops, Hall, Prideaux, Brownrigge, " were gone to heaven, and others of another " stamp [succeeded]; and so it was easier for " them to carry all their own way."*

And then having remarked their ungodly pains and assiduity, in procuring a convocation and parliament to their minds, he goes on thus:

" The Commissioners on the other side must " be acknowledged men of great and sound " learning, and of more experience in the pas- " toral office, and had conversed more with " great congregations than the others had; " and so were more fit to advise, as learned " practitioners in physic are fitter to advise, " and more likely to hit the temper of the pa- " tient, than a professor in the theory. And " the account of their proceedings will, to " posterity, shew to the impartial and inqui- " sitive, both their parts and their temper. When " I read them, I do the less wonder at what

* Conformist's First plea for Nonconformists: p. 37.

" I heard, that a great bishop,* in his prime " visitation, soon after did warn his clergy " against reading that book."†

This is a plain tale, in homely dress indeed, but sensible and just, and leads to a very clear determination of the question at issue.

It is hardly worth any man's while to refute the string of idle cavils that come next; the mere offspring of distress and perplexity.

For example. King Charles II. positively affirmed in his declaration, that " the presby- " terian ministers who attended him in Hol- " land were no enemies to episcopacy." But the Letter-writer tells us, " these very men " had swore in their solemn league and cove- " nant to extirpate episcopacy." p. 47. A very unfortunate remark: if they swore to extirpate episcopacy, by taking the covenant, so did King Charles; for he took the the covenant as well as they; and what is more, he took it in Scotland, and without that qualification, with respect to episcopacy, which the English ministers insisted upon before they would take it; namely, a clause describing the sort of prelacy they meant to oppose, as different from the antient episcopacy, which they allowed.‡ But such are the effects of the rage of *answering every thing*.

Again. Bishop Burnet neither says nor hints, " that the bishops desired Lord Clarendon to

* Bishop Sanderson.

† Conformist's First plea for Nonconformists, p. 38.

‡ Baxter's Life, p. 48.

" be so obstinate towards the presbyterians, " in requital for the services they did him, " in the affair of his daughter's marriage with " the Duke of York." p. 53.—His Lordship's gratitude was then the more generous, in doing it without being asked. For I suppose few people now a days will believe that Clarendon did not know what the bishops desired.

The Letter-writer says, " the whole of what " his Lordship hath written, concerning this " transaction with the nonconformists, evi- " dently proves that he acted from his judg- " ment in it." And, no doubt, very *judicious* it was to *divert*, *cross*, and *puzzle* them, in the manner he tells us he contrived to do. His judgment however in this case, some men would be apt to think, got the better of something of more value.

" Nor can the Letter-writer find any thing " in either of the two Essays, referred to by " the author of the Preface, derogatory from " established ecclesiastical forms in the least." p. 53.—Is that the question? But let us not differ with him for small matters. Lord Clarendon, in the former of those Essays, gives a very contemptible account of the authority of antiquity, and says, among other things, that " it is very little better than hypocrisy, to pre- " tend to submit to the ancient fathers, and " primitive practice, when it is so well known, " that so much hath been discovered that was " not known to them, and other interpreta- " tions of the scripture made, by a greater skill " in languages, than was agreeable to their " conceptions."*

* Essays, p. 202.

Now, if this be true, I doubt we must either give up the compliments of Casaubon and Grotius, above celebrated, or acknowledge that his Lordship derogated very greatly from the merit of our establishment, and the sincerity of its defenders.

In the other Essay, his Lordship affirms roundly, that " all liturgies which have ever " been instituted for the service and worship " of God are purely forms of state."*—The consequences of which position, I leave to the contemplation of those, who call the church of England the *purest church upon earth*, and upon that account, charge those who separate from her with a criminal schism upon scripture grounds. Not to mention that upon this plan, there can be no such things as established ecclesiastical forms in the world.

The Letter-writer says, " the two proposi- " tions which bishop Ward obliged Dr. Whit- " by to retract, are so incautiously expressed, " that one of them is in terms, and the other " by consequence, inconsistent with making " an act of Parliament, or a by-law of a cor- " poration, about any common matter." p. 54.

Perhaps there are few corporations, perhaps few assemblies of a more consequential kind, without a *weak brother*. I cannot think however there is one of them that hath a *brother* so *weak* as to imagine that Dr. Whitby meant *a Member of Parliament*, or an *Alderman of a Corporation*, when he spoke of a *weak brother*

* Eſſays, p. 262.

in one of his propositions; or that by, *any thing in the worship of God,* mentioned in the other, he meant, *any common matter*, which may be the subject of a corporation by-law.* But indeed our Letter-writer's comments are the most curious articles in his pamphlet.

For example. Not being able to set aside Calamy's testimony, concerning bishop Morley's speech in Parliament, he attacks the probability of the account with an argument *ab absurdo*, representing, that "the same things "to which Morley said the nonconformists "would still have been bound, were the *assent* "and *consent*, and the *abjuration of the cove-* "*nant*, from which, he proposed to set them "free." p. 55. Whereas a less enlightened critic would have seen, that it was the *general obligation to conform to every ceremony, and every tittle of the public service,* which would have remained upon them, from other parts of the act of uniformity, notwithstanding they should have been released from declaring their *assent* and *consent* to the liturgy, or dispensed with from *abjuring the covenant.*

Whatever Sheldon, Morley, and Ward might be in other respects, they were rigid, determined, but occasionally dissembling intolerants

* That the reader may judge of the Letter-writer's skill in casuistry, the two propositions retracted by Dr. Whitby are here once more exhibited:

1. *It is not lawful for superiors to impose any thing* IN THE WORSHIP OF GOD, *which is not antecedently necessary.*

2. *The duty of not offending* A WEAK BROTHER *is inconsistent with all human authority of making laws concerning things indifferent.*

whenever any sort of accommodations of the public services to the minds of many scrupulous, but honest and learned men, were attempted, or proposed.* And to this temper and these endeavours it is that the author of the Preface directs his remarks, and not to their judgment on the merit or propriety of the several alterations and amendments specified on such occasions.

In order to discredit what the author of the Preface had said, concerning the project of a reformation in 1668, by Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Chief Justice Hale, &c. the Letter-writer appeals to one Dr. Burton, who, being appointed, among others, to treat with some leading presbyterians on that occasion, "found "them so backward to make any reasonable "advances, or adhere to those they seemed "to make, that they grew weary of treating "with them." p. 56.—For which the Letter-writer himself gives a very good reason, by observing, p. 54. that "the reformation then "proposed was a very insufficient and trifling

* He objects to Calamy's teſtimony concerning the tranſaction between Biſhop Ward and Dr. Wilkins, becauſe Biſhop Burnet ſays nothing of it. It is however rendered highly probable by an authority of more account with the Letter-writer than Biſhop Burnet, viz. the more orthodox Anthony Wood, who tells us, that "the "two Archbiſhops Sheldon and Dolbein, and Biſhop Fell, did "malign Wilkins, for his wavering and inconſtant principles in re-"ligion." *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 506. which the compiler of his article in the *Biographia Britannica*, though not void of malignity towards this eminent prelate, interprets to mean, "Wilkins's "promoting a comprehenſion with the diſſenters," vol. vi. part ii. p. 4273. Was Ward, a creature of Sheldon's, to be guilty of miſpriſion, by keeping Wilkins's dangerous ſecret to himſelf?

"one." This Dr. Burton is one of bishop Ellis's authorities in his *Plea for his Test*; and there, I suppose, the Letter-writer found him, and was surely neither wise nor grateful to his oracle, in thus disabling the testimony of his witness.

He next cites Dr. Calamy and Bishop Burnet, to give an account of THIS STEP in 1668; the one in a relation of something which happened in 1672; the other, in a narrative of what fell out in 1681; as if the author of the Preface had undertaken for the presbyterians, that because they were in the right at one period, they never could be in the wrong at any other.

Suffice it therefore just to observe, that he hath managed these two witnesses, just as he has done all the rest, by concealing what was not for his purpose, and misrepresenting what he thought had a more favourable aspect towards his cause.*

* Page 598, of Calamy's Abridgment, to which he refers, contains the history of 1701, and is I suppose mistaken for p. 335, where there is indeed an account of an ill spirit that was got among some of the presbyterians in 1672, which however concerned Baxter only, and was very industriously fomented by the high-church conformists, who raised reports of his being about to conform, in which bishop Morley was not inactive. The genuine account of this whole affair may be found in Baxter's Life by Sylvester, part iii. p. 70, 71; and indeed enough for the purpose in Calamy, ungarbled by the Letter-writer.

In the other passage referred to by the Letter-writer which may be found, Hist. of his *O. T.* vol. I. 405. Bishop Burnet, for what reason, one cannot pretend to say, mentions the bill of comprehension, about which he represents the presbyterians so indifferent, as posterior to the bill for exempting them from the penalties in theact of 35 Eliz. whereas it was prior to it. Rapin's account is this:

We are now arrived at the ecclesiastical commission of 1689, on which the Letter-writer opens his budget with observing, "That no "proposals for the purpose of a reformation "being laid before the convocation, they could "not there meet with an effectual defeat," p. 57. as the author of the Preface had asserted. A most important remark; which however will hardly keep its countenance against the following account: "This man [*Jane*], as soon as "he got into the chair, opposing every thing "that was proposed or intended by the Royal "Commission, was the principal occasion that "nothing succeeded."*

In remarking upon what the author of the Preface had said of the convocation-men's ob-

"The 21st of December [1681], a bill was read the first time, "for uniting the king's protestant subjects. While the rigid episcopalians prevailed, in the second parliament of this reign, they "had carefully avoided to distinguish the protestant nonconformists "from others [papists], because it was advantageous to make them "but one body under the same name. But the parliament, which "had other views, neglected not to make so proper a distinction. "This bill, which was perhaps too indulgent to the presbyterians, "having met with strong opposition in the house, was at last given "up for one less advantageous, which exempted the protestant dissenters from the penalties enacted against the papists." 35 Eliz. Rapin, octavo, 1731, vol. XIV. p. 277. Calamy gives the heads of the bill of comprehension, and an account of some of the speakers and speeches for and against it; which makes it the more marvellous where bishop Burnet met with his account of the *no concern* in the dissenters to promote it, especially as in his account of the *less indulgent* bill, brought in upon the loss of it, he tells us the bishops opposed it, as thinking those terrors in Queen Elizabeth's act of some use in keeping down the *insolence* of the dissenters. He relates likewise the scandalous trick by which it was lost. All which our ingenuous Letter-writer thought fit to keep to himself.

* Life of Dr. Prideaux.

jection to the address of the upper house, the Letter-writer observes, that "*their* word was "*religion*:" p. 58. True, but the question is, what they meant by it? Though the convocation addressed the king in English, religion is a latin word, and sometimes signifies superstition:

Tantum RELLIGIO *potuit suadere malorum*.

It likewise, as the author suggests from Gal. i. 14, signifies judaism, for so it seems our translators there understood it. Would the Letter writer have taken it well, if the Prefacer had represented the convocation-men as saying, "We do not think fit to mention the word "judaism, or the word superstition, any farther "than it is the judaism, or the superstition, of some formed established church?"

It was therefore a compliment to these gentlemen, to suppose they meant religion in the best sense of θρησκεια.

Upon the supposition that the word religion is as well applicable to the external worship of the visible church, as it is to the internal devotion of the invisible, the Letter-writer asks, "May there not be fit occasions to speak "of it sometimes only in the former sense, "and sometimes only in the latter?" p. 58. Certainly; but *no fit occasions*, to speak of it so in the former sense, as utterly to exclude the latter sense, which was the case with these convocation-men; and makes all the learning of our Letter-writer upon this subject wholly impertinent; for the objection to these men, was not that they applied religion to a formed established church, or that the word

θρησκεία may be so applied ;* but that by thinking " the word religion not fit to be mention-" ed, any farther than it is a religion of " some formed established church," they utterly excluded all idea of religion from every act of worship, and every expression or sentiment of devotion, which was not the worship or the devotion of a formed established church.

The reading of the text being thus settled, now for the comment. " They meant," says the Letter-writer, " that although, as they " offered to assure the king, the interest of " all the protestant churches was dear to them, " yet they did not think fit, on addressing " him, as a convocation of the church of Eng-" land to use an expression which might seem to " include persons calling themselves protes-" tants, though of no church, or separatists

* To prove this point, the Letter-writer cites Acts xxvi. 5. but unfortunately for him, the words there are την ακριβεστατην της ἡμετερας θρησκειας; so that the notion here must be, not the religion of a formed established church, but three formed and established sects of one religion. Now, I apprehend, the proof of the establishment of these sects would be a great curiosity. The pharisees made the word of God of none effect by their traditions; and in the strict observance of these traditions consisted the religion of Paul before his conversion. Gal. i. 14. Who established this sect? the Sadduces denied the resurrection, and the inspiration of the prophets. Who established these? the Essenes were fatalists, and were strongly suspected of worshiping the sun. Who established these? not the law of Moses, not the Sanhedrim, for there were points of difference among the principals of each sect, who were members of the great council, and tumults and riots among their respective followers concerning these differences, which would not have been in a formed established religion. It follows, that the jewish was a tolerated religion, depending for its existence, at the time in question, on the indulgence of the Romans.

" without cause from the church of which " they were representatives:" p. 59.

If any of these convocation men were now living, I wonder what they would think of their commentator, in thus nicely distinguishing between the interest and the religion of all these protestant churches. The *interest*, it seems, of *all* the protestant churches (among others, of the protestant churches of separatists without cause) was dear to them, although they could not allow them to have any religion. For if the separatists without cause had no religion, neither had those foreign protestants any, whose churches were formed upon the same principles as the churches of our domestic separatists. The result is, that the *interest* of all these protestant churches, so dear to the convocation men, comprehended every good thing, exclusive of *religion*—Immense delicacy!

But we return once more to our criticisms. " *Their religion*, [the religion of the convo- " cation men,] you think, *had rather a pagan* " *cast*, BECAUSE, like that of Cicero, it com- " prehended *the fear of God, with the outward* " *worship*:" p. 60. No, Sir; because, if you please, it expressed the fear of God in outward worship only, and because it excluded the moral duties of mankind from the idea of religion, as Cicero's did.*

* RELIGIONEM eam quæ in metu et ceremonia Deorum sit, appellant. PIETATEM, quæ erga patriam, aut parentes, aut alios sanguine conjunctos officium conservare moneat. *De Inventione*, ii. 22. There are some christians, I would hope, who think there may be full as much of true religion and of the *fear of God* in this

" Festus's description of a religious man has " no fear of God, or outward worship in it;" *ibid.* No! what then does he think is the meaning of the words, SANCTITATEM *Deorum magni æstimans?* He does not know. Let him look down to the margin, and he will learn † I owe him this good turn, in requital for his information, that the fear of God is incompatible with doing our duty to our neighbour. Festus, however, thought there was some little religion in the latter.

What follows after this, about the proceedings of the commissioners, the alterations proposed by them, and the reasons for secreting the papers relating to these matters, is completely answered by the Letter-writer's information, p. 61, *that the papers are still in being*; and, p. 63, that *the times are altered from what they were.* The question then is, why are they not published now? why should they not be brought to light, if for no other good purpose, yet at least to confront the naughty author of the Preface, and many others who may think, as he does, that the conceal-

piety to our parents and our country, as in the practice of all the ceremonies in the roman ritual.

† SANCTITAS autem est scientia colendorum Deorum. Cic. De Nat. Deorum, I. 41. and Ovid, Fast. I.

SANCTA *patres Augusta vocant, Augusta vocantur*
Templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.

Surely Festus's religious man will at length be sufficiently equipped to our author's taste with externals, by conning all the pontificals and consecration offices, he could lay his hands on in the libraries of the Augurs.

ing them so long is not at all for the credit of those who have had it in their power to publish them? The author of the Preface hath been lucky enough to drag into day-light Archbishop Wake's correspondence with the Sorbonne doctors. Is not the honour of the church of England as much concerned in vindicating the integrity of so many worthy men of her communion as were commissioned to review the public service, as to support the reputation of an individual, not at all more eminent or excellent than the greater part of those to whom this important affair was committed?

A few remarks, however, upon this subject, as treated by the Letter-writer, may not be amiss.

He sends the Prefacer to Dr. Birch, for the reasons which induced Archbishop Tenison to be cautious of trusting the papers out of his own keeping, which were, "that if they came "to be public, they would give no satisfac- "faction to either side, but be rather a handle "to mutual reproaches; as one side would "upbraid their brethren for having given up "so much, while others would justify their "nonconformity, because those concessions "were too little, or, however, not yet passed "into a law."*

Archbishop Tenison was a great and a good man, equally averse to the spirit, as well as the body of popery, and was one of those who entered cordially into this attempt of a comprehension. There is no room to doubt, but

* Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 191.

that he gave these reasons for preventing the publication of these papers, to some persons, who, he knew, would retail them, such as Dr. White Kennet in particular. But they who consider in what times he lived, what sort of brethren he had for his contemporaries, the loads of abuse which were thrown upon him by those brethren in those days, how that abuse hath been perpetuated by the spawn of those brethren in ours,*—whoever, I say, considers this, will easily believe that his apprehensions of reproach from those who would think the concessions too little, were in no degree equal to what he knew he must have borne from the rancour of those who were every day railing at him for *betraying the church.* And this, I conjecture, might be the true reason for his suppressing those papers, which, however, it is pretty plain, some people thought it would have been right to publish ; they, I mean, for whose satisfaction the reasons above-mentioned were given, in answer, no doubt, to the expectations they had formed of their being communicated to the world.

But the Letter-writer himself acknowledges the times are altered in this respect; and I hope they are, and that the Letter-writer's groupe is very considerably thinner than he himself may imagine. Mercy on us, if there should still be a majority so ready to defend the church politics of a Parker, a Whitgift, a Bancroft, a Laud, a Sheldon, a Mor-

+ A remarkable inſtance of this will be given in the latter part of theſe Occaſional Remarks.

ley, and a Ward, as this reverend divine! However, as he sometimes affects a little moderation, and announces the existence of these papers, and is consequently in the secret, it is in some measure incumbent upon him to satisfy the present generation why the alteration of the times should not make it unnecessary to conceal them any longer?

This he attempts, I suppose, in the following queries. "But are not the times likewise "altered in other respects? Would two thirds, "would one third, would one sixth of the dis- "senters conform now, on the concessions pro- "posed to be made then?" p. 63.

Here again, we see the loss or gain of numbers is the grand consideration with our Letter-writer. But to answer his questions directly. *Possibly so; possibly much otherwise.* But what of that? are not these concessions desirable, though not one dissenter in five hundred should be brought over by them? in what respects are they wrong or unreasonable in themselves? how many, and which of them are of little moment? Let them be produced, that we may judge for ourselves: and let him not flatter himself that the world will take things of this consequence upon his bare word.

He goes on: "Indeed, has not a large and "increasing part of them fixed their separa- "tion on so very different a footing, that they "would slight these as trifles, and make de- "mands of quite another nature?" *Ibid.*

I answer: Indeed I do not know, nor is it worth the while to inquire. If the concessions the dissenters have required heretofore, if those

they require now, or shall require anhundred years hence, are just, equitable, and reasonable in themselves, it was, is, and will be just, equitable, and reasonable to make them, though we had no dissenters among us. If such concessions or demands are unrighteous or unreasonable in themselves, it would not be fit to agree to them, though we were sure of gaining every individual dissenter in the kingdom.

" And, continues the Letter-writer, between " the tenaciousness of the old dissenters, and " the wildness of the new, is it not too likely " that scarce any would be gained ?"

The tenaciousness on the one side would probably bear some proportion to the tenaciousness on the other; which has generally been the case, where disagreeing parties are driving bargains of union and coalescence. If the treaty is founded upon the prospect of gaining or losing strength to a party, no wonder if each of them stand stiffly upon their terms. But what is all this to the merits of the question ?*

* What the *wildneſs* of theſe *new* diſſenters is, I cannot gueſs, nor what *new diſſenters* he means, unleſs he has the *methodiſts* in his eye; if ſo, what right has he to call them *diſſenters ?* They pretend at leaſt, and in my opinion have well nigh made good their pretence, that they are equally orthodox, and equally ſincere conformiſts as they who accuſe them of heterodoxy and irregularity; particularly, as the Letter-writer and his yoke-fellow Dr. Nowell. See *Pietas Oxonienſis,* and *Goliath ſlain.* Between them, however, they have brought a ſufficient number of fluctuating interpretations, to convince any man of common ſenſe and common honeſty, of the inutility of ſubſcription to our eſtabliſhed forms, either for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the orthodoxy of the ſubſcribers, or fixing the ſenſe of ſcripture by human articles, and have therefore fully eſtabliſhed one principal argument in *The Confeſſional* againſt all oppoſers.

From this period to the end of the paragraph, p. 65, the Letter-writer falls into the same tragical apprehensions that had terrified Mr. White before him, of the ill-manners and tempers of the people, mixing some presumptions with respect to their superiors, which are far too hot for me to meddle with.

There is a good deal in the same strain, p. 22; and all calculated for the purpose of exculpating the *poor passive ecclesiastics* at the expence of our temporal rulers, who, he thinks, should have been chastised in their turn by the author of the Preface, and is accordingly angry with him for his partiality on this head.

But perhaps the author of the Preface may not be disposed to agree to the Letter-writer's representation? It is possible he may have a better opinion of the people and their lay superiors. He may think there are among all ranks, men of honour and conscience, of good sense, courage, and activity; and that such of these as have the power would not, upon a proper application, be backward to relieve the poor passive ecclesiastics, whose cause it really is that is pleaded in the Confessional, nor would suffer themselves to be be influenced by insinuations buzzed in their ears by *rich active ecclesiastics*, that *the state has more need of the church, than the church of the state.* The author of *The Confessional*, indeed, seems to me, from many things dropped in his book, extremely willing to appeal to such patriotic laymen, whether in or out of parliament, who certainly know the world too well to be appre-

hensive of any confusion in this case, but such as should be raised and fomented by churchmen of the same spirit with those who, from the first corruption of christianity, have zealously opposed every step towards a reformation.

It would have been marvellous indeed if the author of the Preface had not come under such suspicions of being accessary to the confusion apprehended by the Letter-writer. It is a topic *ad augendam invidiam*, too apposite to the Letter-writer's views, not to be frequently repeated, and censured with a peculiar malignity.

" Such books as your's," says he, " and " such articles as we continually have in the " newspapers, are grievous discouragements " to what they would seem designed to pro- " mote : for they excite shrewd suspicions, " that the real intention is not to reform the " church, but to make it odious by plausible " and growing demands of what you yourselves " know cannot be granted:" p. 65.

A man must be of a very feeling constitution who is tormented with the evanescent trifles in a newspaper. Be that as it may, who does the Letter-writer expect should be answerable for these ? I do not know what articles he may allude to ; but this I know, that the newspapers have, of late years, abounded with virulent abuses of the protestant reformation, and protestant revolution, with fulsome encomiums of the Stuarts, and their tyrannical govern-

ment, ecclesiastical and civil, with excessively stupid, but at the same time excessively rancorous attacks on those ever to be honoured writers of the last age, who have pleaded with an irresistible force of reason for public liberty, civil and religious. Many of these productions, it is next to certain, came from popish pens. Has the Letter-writer, or any of his friends, ever answered any of these? have they ever complained of them? If not, what wonder that some of a dissenting cast, provoked by the impudence of the one sort, and dead silence of the other, should a little too hastily snatch up the cudgel; and, in aiming their strokes at the mass-house, here and there dash a little untempered mortar from the church.*

But what is all this to *The Confessional* or its author? where are *his* plausible and growing demands *which cannot be granted*, to be found? In twenty places the Letter-writer is

* "May the church of England," says the ingenious Mr. Benjamin Pye, stand to the remotest ages, on the rock whereon she is "built, *as on an isthmus between two contending seas, keeping "each within its due bounds*, nor suffering either to overflow its "shores." *Five Letters, Pref.* p. vi. Does not this look as if the church of England was placed in that situation to keep the peace between the papists and the protestant dissenters? and if so, the dissenter may have no way of coming at his antagonist, but by brushing rudely by the church. Many an honest neutral constable has got his head broke by endeavouring to part a whig and a tory mob. Seriously, the image is highly and justly exceptionable, and will, I fear, be considered, by many readers, in an unfavourable light, even for the church of England. But it is only tossing a squib at *The Confessional*, and you may say what you please.

out of humour with him for not specifying particulars; here his demands are perceived to be such as *cannot be granted.* Words, which are so little applicable to the author of the Confessional, that, if I were not well assured of the limitations in the Letter-writer's commission, I should take them for a peremptory declaration of the sense of the legislature of Great Britain, that no demands, relating to a reformation in the church of England, would ever be granted, *henceforth* and *for ever.*

Speaking of the *Test*, he says, "Churchmen, and clergymen in particular, far "from being fond of a sacramental test, would "be glad of any other effectual security in its "place:" p. 66.

So, I think, bishop Ellis had said before him; and so I think neither the one nor the other of them would have said, had it not been wrung from them by a consciousness of something improper and unedifying in the sacramental test. This however is borne down, it seems, by the consideration of the effectual security it affords to the church.

Some people indeed have asked, why the faith and allegiance, pledged by the dissenters to the civil government, and its protestant head, might not afford all the security wanted? To this the answer has been, what is *that* to the *church?* And this answer bishop Ellis, at the time his Plea was published, might give properly enough in agreement with

other defenders of the test, at or about that time. For the instrument of *Alliance* was not then come to light; and the bishop writes at least, as if he knew nothing of it.

But the Letter-writer lives in happier and more enlightened times; and should have known from the book of *Alliance*, not only that the nature of the compact would not admit of any *succedaneum* for the *Sacramental Test*, but that all scruples about its propriety were most dexterously superseded, by considering utility as the sole basis of the treaty on all sides, with which truth, sincerity, consistency, edification, &c. have nothing to do, but by mere accident.

The Letter-writer next proceeds to a kind of recapitulation, in defence of his heroes, whose eloquent tongues cannot now speak for themselves, which, according to custom, consists in the abuse and misrepresentation of those who opposed them in their despotic attempts upon christian liberty.

"The first class," says he, "objected only "to ecclesiastical habits, though enjoined by "the Queen's authority, because the papists "had administered in them:" p. 67.

In the margin he has given us from Strype, the subscription of Humfrey and Sampson to a proposition concerning the habits; but has carefully secreted what comes between the proposition and the subscription, namely, what is there called Dr. Nowell's pacification, where, out of four objections to the use of the vestments prescribed, two at least are such as shew,

that conformity in this respect was not refused only, because the papists had used them.*

He says, " the use of them was enjoined by " the Queen's authority." That is very questionable, with respect to the time when the first opposition broke out. When Parker understood the difficulties that arose in the Queen's council, concerning the authorising his advertisements, he says, " The laws [of the land] " were so much against the private doings of " the bishops, that, if the Queen would not " authorise them, the most part of the orders " therein prescribed were like to lie in the " dust."* Yet nothing more certain, than that numbers had refused to use the habits long before this period.

" That the use of such habits was not sinful," says the Letter-writer, " Humfreys and " Sampson their leaders acknowledged by " their subscription under their hands, though " they refused compliance in their practice:" p. 67.

He should have said, " was not *impious*,"

* Whittingham, Dean of Durham, in his letter to the Earl of Leiceſter, ſays, " That which maketh a ſhew for the maintenance of " that apparel, is the opinion of indifferency. Which thing, he " that will perſuade, muſt then prove, that it tendeth to God's glory, " conſenteth with his word, edifieth his church, maintaineth chriſtian " liberty." Theſe conſiderations were not founded ſimply on the circumſtance that the papiſts had uſed the habits, but on the miſchief and ſcandal ariſing among the reformed, from the adoption of their ſuperſtition in that uſe. But the diſſidents ſcrupled not to wear ſhoes and ſtockings, and that was ſufficient for the Letter-writer. See Strype's Life of Parker, Appendix, B. II. No. xxvii.

* Strype's Life of Parker, p. 159.

for that is their word ; and it would be strange to suppose that Sampson should suffer himself to be deprived of his deanry of Christ's church afterwards, for not conforming to a practice which he believed not to be sinful. The honester Strype fairly tells us, that " by this " subscription Humfrey and Sampson, in ef- " fect, declared rather their *dissent* than their " *allowance.*"*

The next article is the *Repentance* of Cartwright the leader of the disciplinarians. But of this we have said enough before.

TRAVERS is next brought upon the stage by the Letter-writer, with every invidious circumstance of aggravation that his cunning could suggest.

" The Separatists," says he, " went a step " further towards reforming our church ; for " seeing it impossible to do any thing while " the civil magistrate was allowed authority " in affairs of ecclesiastical discipline, THERE- " FORE Travers, in behalf of their discipline, " expressly says, *huic disciplinæ omnes reges* " *et præcipes fasces suas submittere necesse* " *est* ; p. 68.

This most injurious misrepresentation of the excellent Travers deserves more time for attention and examination than I have to bestow upon it. And therefore, without asking what discipline Travers meant, or where it is that he gives this reason for advancing this doctrine? I will only ask, wherein it differs from Gib-

* Strype's Life of Parker, p. 173.

son's scheme of church power, laid down in his celebrated *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici*, wherein he proposes, that *The Convocation, or at least a committee of bishops, shall be the* ULTIMATE JUDGES *in* ALL *ecclesiastical causes,** which he builds upon an authority "belonging to every bishop by the word of God, "*for the exercise of* ALL MANNER OF SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE *within their respective* "*dioceses.*"† I need not mention what his lordship and others have alledged against prohibitions to the ecclesiastical judges, from the temporal courts, where they as effectually, if not as expressly, exclude the king's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, as any one of the old disciplinarians.

After this, it will not be necessary to say much of Archbishop Whitgift's exaggerating and invidious remarks upon the book of discipline, cited by the Letter-writer. Two circumstances appear in the very page he refers to, sufficient to satisfy us what to think of them. 1. The archbishop's censure of Buchanan's book *De jure regni apud Scotos*, testifying thereby an equal respect for the civil, as he had all along shewn for the religious rights of his countrymen. 2. An account of an Address from the house of Commons to the Queen on the behalf of this discipline,‡ an honour

* An examination of the scheme of church power laid down in the Codex. &c. p. 62. † Ibid. p. 35.

‡ Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 259. There were indeed divers attempts in the house of Commons in favour of this discipline, before this period, a remarkable remonstrance in particular to the Lords,

which bishop Gibson's scheme of church power hath never yet met with.

But all this would not still do, without a convert from this disciplinarian system. "One "of these," says the Letter-writer, "who ho- "nestly submitted to quit his preferment, ra- "ther than subscribe to our government and "liturgy, was Dr. J. Burgess, who was soon "convinced of his error, and became a pro- "fest champion of both :" p. 68.

Heylin, the Letter writer's authority for this anecdote. tells us how this came about. Burgess was first committed prisoner for something in a sermon preached before the King in 1604. Afterwards, in consequence of a petition to the king, he was admitted to a personal conference with his Majesty, whose arguments, seconded with a better benefice, set the good doctor to rights, and made him a complete champion. Heylin however observes, that "the gaining "of this man did not still the rest."*

William Prynne is another of his converts, "who," he tells us, "had been a very active "adversary to monarchy and episcopacy :" p. 69.

Let us hear Prynne himself upon this subject.

"For my own particular, as I always have "been, and always shall be, an honourer and "defender of kings and monarchy (the best "of government, whiles it keeps within the

exhibited in Sir Simmonds D'Ewes's Journal, p. 357, and said by Strype to be drawn by Sampson ; which shews, not only that the Commons had not those frightful ideas of the brethrens discipline, with which the Letter-writer would terrify us, but likewise the firmness of the bishops in withstanding the most reasonable reformations in the church.

* Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 377.

" bounds which law and conscience have pre-
" scribed) ; so I shall never degenerate so far
" beneath the duty of a man, a lawyer, a
" scholar, a christian, as to misinform or flat-
" ter either, nor yet (out of any popular vain
" glory) court either parliaments or people,
" to the prejudice of king's just royalties."*

The Letter-writer goes on. " And contri-
" buted much to the demolition of both." Why truly he had no great reason to support the episcopacy then in fashion. But every one knows he was a determined enemy to Cromwell's proceedings, in the demolition of the monarchy ; and was actually imprisoned with several others on account of their zeal for a peace and settlement with the king.†

Again.—" Was so heartily convinced of the
" mischievous consequences of that demoli-
" tion, that he became a considerable instru-
" ment in the restoration of both."

So *considerable*, that he was desired by Monk and his party to be quiet, since such declarations as he made in parliament were unseasonable.‡ As to his contributing to the restoration of episcopacy, he was, like the rest of the presbyterians, instrumental to it, in so far as he came into the restoration of the king, which, by accident, and the circumstances conse-

* Preface to the fourth part of the *Sovereign Power of Parliaments*, quarto, 1643.

† See his article, *Biog. Brit.* Appendix, p. 147.

‡ Ibid. The Letter-writer makes all this out from a short note of Tindal's, in the octavo edition of Rapin, 1730, vol. XIII. p. 416, which gives him no authority for the better half of it. Not to mention that Rapin says in the text to which this is the note, " that most of Prynne's treatises are of little esteem." Perhaps much less *after* than *before* his conversion.

quent upon it, produced the restoration of episcopacy, sore against their minds.

" If the reader," says the Letter-writer, " wonder what could induce you to give so " malicious a misrepresentation of facts, at all " times unseasonable, but at this time more " particularly, you say, *quite* so, you inform " us it is the redoubled efforts of popery, to " enlarge her borders," &c. p. 69.

And indeed, well may the reader wonder, that the author of the Preface should acknowledge, first, that he had maliciously misrepresented facts, and then confess that such misrepresentation was quite unseasonable. And all this before any grave Letter-writer had arisen to point out his errors, and to put him to his penance for them.

But will not the reader rather wonder what could induce any man of common apprehension to write down such a piece of malicious nonsense? will he not be apt to ask whether it is meant that the *malicious misrepresentation* or the *facts* are *unseasonable?* It cannot be the *malicious misrepresentation* for that is not *more particularly* unseasonable at one time than another. And if the *facts* be meant, pray *what* facts are referred to? The names of Travers, Burges, or Prynne, to whom the immediately foregoing facts relate in the Letter, do not once occur in the Preface, nor any thing particularly relating to their personal history. Why then should what the author of the Preface says of the publication of his whole work, be confined to these, or any particular facts mentioned in the Preface?

Why, truly, the case is only this. The Letter-writer minding to shew that reformations in the church were more particularly unseasonable at the time he wrote, and to shew this by the ancient and laudable methods of crossing and puzzling, he got into a scrape, and not being his crafts-master, he had the misfortune to *cross* and *puzzle* nobody but himself.

Having very *unmaliciously* inferred, that because one of two certain prelates, mentioned in the Preface, persevered in his liberal sentiments, the other must have apostatized from them, he adds, "unless some who should "know are greatly misled, neither of them "patronized *the True*" [it should be *the Free*] "*and Candid Disquisitions*, and I conceive "that book to be a main test of orthodoxy "with you :" p. 71.

Is the Letter-writer sure that the patronage of the *Free and Candid Disquisitions* is the instance here meant? is he sure it might *not* be an instance, wherein one of these prelates had not an opportunity of shewing his perseverance? is it impossible that some people, who should know better, may be grievously misled, by false information, groundless surmises, the officiousness of eves-droppers, and even by their own prejudices in other cases, as well as this of the *Free and Candid Disquisitions*?

One instance, however, I will give him of the perseverance of both these worthy prelates. Neither of them, whatever opinions they formed of the Disquisitions, ever thought it neces-

sary, even in those disquisitorial times, to make new tests of orthodoxy, and to require subscription to them as a qualification for holding preferment, which the law of the land neither required nor authorised.

All that follows from p. 71, to p. 74, in this Letter, concerning the pains taken to suppress popery, is exceedingly comfortable; and I dare answer for the author of the Preface, that, notwithstanding the insinuations of the Letter-writer, he will cordially rejoice to be confuted by such facts as this gentleman can bring to support his general representation. There are however, already facts of different kinds relating to this matter, before the public; and let the public judge of them. One fact I shall beg leave to mention. About the time this Letter was published, appeared an *Apology for the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland*, wherein are some particulars which may afford useful reflections to those who will take the pains to compare with them some parts of this writer's *second* and *third* Letters to the author of *The Confessional*, of which, probably, my worthy friend, you may hear more hereafter.

I can but guess what the MASTER ARGUMENT against popery, alluded to by the author of the Preface, may be. I suppose he may mean the argument drawn from the nullity of church authority in general, in agreement with the ever memorable Hales. If, in rooting up this pretended authority of the church of Rome, a preacher should chance to loosen the pretensions to it in some other church calling itself protestant, I have no doubt but

the Letter-writer would immediately remonstrate, that this was preaching against that church. And so far he would be very intelligible. But I must confess, it exceeds my comprehension, how a preacher, who has leave to preach against a lower degree of church authority, can have leave to let alone an higher degree of it, which must of course be condemned *à fortiori*.

OCCASIONAL REMARKS

ON

Dr. MACLAINE's Third APPENDIX to his Second Edition of MOSHEIM's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, in Defence of Archbishop WAKE.

——Per adversum irritus
Redunte toties luditur saxo labor.

OCCASIONAL REMARKS,

ON

Dr. MACLAINE'S Third Appendix.

I WAS going on to consider, what the Letter-writer hath said on the behalf of Archbishop Wake, with respect to his transaction with the Doctors of the Sorbonne, concerning an union between the English and Gallican churches, when, being informed that Dr. Maclaine had undertaken the Archbishop's defence against the author of *The Confessional*, in a particular tract, I determined to wait for its publication, and not long after received the Doctor's supplement to the quarto edition of his translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, where, in a Third Appendix, and a series of Letters subjoined, is contained his defence of Archbishop Wake.

Dr. Maclaine's reasoning upon the correspondence there exhibited is much the same with that of the Letter-writer; as likewise his reproofs of the author of *The Confessional;* insomuch, that it is possible, if not probable, they may have conferred notes upon the subject: there is at least a remarkable resemblance

in their sentiments, and even in their language, which seems strongly to mark congenial talents for defending such a cause as that of Archbishop Wake, and taking down the intrepidity of such adventurers as he of *The Confessional.*

But as Dr. Maclaine is much the more temperate and agreeable writer of the two, and has nothing of that devotional grimace, which the Letter-writer is perpetually intermixing with the overflowings of a very different spirit, it is much more eligible to debate the matters in question with him, which I hope to do without transgressing those rules of civility and good manners, that ought to be observed towards a gentleman and a scholar, though an adversary, at least in the same degree that the Doctor himself hath observed them towards the author of *The Confessional.*

In perusing the Archbishop's letters exhibited in this Supplement, I was immediately struck with a reflection, that if, as was natural enough to suppose, the author of *The Confessional* had undertaken to defend Archbishop Wake against Mosheim's, or rather Dr. Maclaine's account of this transaction * and Dr.

* I make this distinction, because I am not certain that Mosheim's Latin, *salvis utriusque partis sententiis plerisque*, will justify Dr. Maclaine's English, *that each of the two communities should retain the greatest part of their respective and peculiar doctrines.* The English seems to me to make the Archbishop a little more liable to censure than the Latin; and so I conjecture it seemed to the Letter-writer, who, to aggravate the charge of misrepresentation in the author of *The Confessional*, cites Mosheim's latin, and observes, the author had no grounds to go upon but what he found in Mr. Maclaine's Translation, p. 76, 77. And indeed I am disposed to

Maclaine had stood up to vindicate his author, and to fix the charge upon the Archbishop, nothing could have been more to the Doctor's purpose than these very letters; and I cannot but look upon the expedient of furnishing Dr. Maclaine with these authentic copies, as one token that the answerers of *The Confessional* were taken by surprize, and determined in the conduct of their several defences, rather by the necessity of answering an obnoxious book at all events, than by the merit and propriety of the materials employed in that service.

On another hand, to some people it may appear whimsical enough, that the defence of an Archbishop of Canterbury, suspected of romanizing a little, should be committed to the care of a minister of the English church at the Hague,* against the censures of one who,

think that if the author of *The Confessional* had seen the original before he wrote, or republished his Preface, which we now know he had not, [see the *Appendix to Remarks upon the first of three Letters against the Confessional*, p. viii.] he would perhaps have softened his censure of Archbishop Wake in some degree. But as matters have been managed among the sagacious vindicators of the Archbishop, both Dr. Maclaine's translation, and the remarks upon it in the Preface to *The Confessional*, are sufficiently supported by matters of fact.

* I do not pretend to know any thing of the discipline or the constitution of the English church at the Hague, which hath so learned and respectable a pastor as Dr. Maclaine. It may, for any thing I know, be episcopal. But an expression in Dr. Maclaine's Dedication to the Prince of Orange, whom he calls, *the ornament and the Defender of the pure and holy religion of the united provinces*, and the testimony he bears to his Royal Highness's behaviour on a solemn occasion when the Dr. was present, inclines me to think, this English church is conformable to the established religion

as the serious and solemn Letter-writer is ready to make oath, has an ecclesiastical station and character in the episcopal church of England.

But not to dwell upon circumstances of little moment, the questions in dispute are these two:

1. Whether Archbishop Wake was the person who formed this project of an union between the church of England, and the Gallican church; or whether the project was formed by his correspondents of the Sorbonne?

2. Whether, in order to compass this union, the Archbishop would have given up any thing on the part of the church of England, and what?

Let us try now what intelligence may be gained from these letters towards the determination of these questions.

The first mention made of this union, is in Mr. Beauvoir's letter to the Archbishop, No. II. bearing date 11 Dec. 1717, O. S. wherein his Grace is informed, that Mr. Beauvoir dined, on a certain day, with Dr. Dupin, the syndic of the Sorbonne, and two other doctors; and that these doctors "wished for an union "with the church of England, as the most ef-"fectual means to unite all the western church-"es."

The next letter, No. III, is from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir, bearing date Aug. 30,

of the country: a circumstance which derives no dishonour on the ingenious defender of Dr. Wake. When *truth* is understood to be at stake, nothing can be more noble, nothing more praise-worthy, than to lay aside all systematical prejudices for its sake, though nothing is more uncommon.

1718, which begins thus. "I told you in one "of my last letters, how little I expected from "the present pretences of a union with us."

You will please to observe, that this letter bears date above eight months after the Sorbonnists had expressed their wish abovementioned, that his Grace had written one letter at least to Mr. Beauvoir before, but probably, (I beg pardon) *possibly* more than one on this subject, and that his Grace expected little from the present pretences of an union with the church of England.

Now what were these *present pretences?* had the Archbishop's intermediate letter or letters appeared, we should perhaps have been satisfied what they were, and what it was that had lessened the Archbishop's expectations from them; for, it seems, his Grace suspected, Mr. Beauvoir might think he had altered his mind, since the affair was first set on foot.*

If we take things as they lye before us in these authentic copies, nothing appears of the sort, but a wish expressed by some catholic doctors for such union, at an entertainment: and if we add to this the passage cited by Dr. Maclaine from Dupin's Letter to the Archbishop,† it is still but a wish; and I think he who first endeavoured to realize the wish, may rather be said to set the project on foot, than he or they who barely wished for it.

"My task, says the Archbishop, is pretty "hard, and I scarce know how to manage "myself in this matter. To go any farther

* P. 42. † Supplement, p. 25.

" than I have done in it, even as a divine only " of the church of England, may meet with " censure; and as Archbishop of Canterbury, " I cannot treat with these gentlemen."

Does not this most plainly imply, that as *a divine only of the church of* England, he had treated with these gentlemen *quâdam tenus*, that is to say, as far as his apprehensions of meeting with censure would allow? To treating with the Cardinal, as Archbishop of Canterbury, he had no sort of objection, even till the treaty should be so far advanced, that it would become necessary " to consult with his " brethren, and to ask his Majesty's leave to " correspond with the cardinal concerning it." We shall see presently, however, that these scruples had all vanished in the space of a few weeks.

The good prelate indeed had gone far enough with these gentlemen to be greatly perplexed in his situation. *He knew not how to manage himself in the matter.* He had managed the matter so, it seems, that Dupin had taken it into his head, that the managers on the part of the church of England should take the direction of the *Sorbonnists, what to retain, and what to give up.* No wonder that, matters being at this pass, the Archbishop should be afraid of meeting with censure, if he proceeded any farther. No wonder some people should have surmised, that he deserved censure for proceeding so far.

The ready way therefore to exculpate his Grace, if he were blameless, would have been to have published his whole correspondence

with Mr. Beauvoir, from December 11th, 1717, to August 30, 1718, by which it would have appeared what proposals had been made on the one side and on the other; and where the project of realizing the wishes of the Sorbonnists had begun.

Dr. Maclaine cannot say this whole intermediate correspondence is lost. He has given us, in p. 24. of his Supplement, an extract from one letter of Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir, dated January 2, 1717-18, which is within the interval in question. It is true, the Doctor assures the author of *The Confessional*, who had called for it, "that in that letter, there is "not a single syllable relative to a union." Be it so; this then cannot be that one of the last letters, which the Archbishop mentions in the letter under consideration of August 30, 1718. What is become of that letter, and others within the same interval, which doubtless, had syllables in them relative to a union?

One circumstance more, in this letter of August 30, is too striking to be overlooked. His Grace says, towards the latter end of it, "it is good—to let them see that we neither "need nor seek the union proposed, but for "their sake as well as our own." In his Grace's idea of things, the union was *needed*. Under that persuasion he *sought* it. Can they who *seek* an union which they *need*, be supposed to be the secondary movers in it? has Mosheim in his latin, has even Dr. Maclaine in his english, said more than the Archbishop himself hath here confessed?

However, let us proceed. The letter from Archbishop Wake to Mr. Beauvoir, October 8, 1718, No. IV. in the Collection, begins thus:

"Whatever be the consequence of our corresponding with the Sorbonne Doctors about matters of religion, the present situation of our affairs plainly seems to make it necessary for us so to do."

Here, we see, the good prelate hath laid aside all his apprehensions of incurring censure from his proceeding farther in this business; he no longer sticks at the impropriety of an Archbishop of Canterbury's corresponding with two private Doctors of the Sorbonne, even on a point of this importance, without either consulting his brethren, or asking his Majesty's leave. The situation of affairs in England made it necessary, and that was sufficient.

One might ask here, whence arose this necessity, and what situation of affairs created it? It could hardly be state-affairs; for the subject of the correspondence was, matters of religion, and was consequently made necessary by the situation of religious affairs. I do not chuse, at present, to form any conjecture concerning this situation. Were one sure of guessing ever so right, you may be equally sure, that the Letter-writer and Dr. Maclaine would contradict you. I shall therefore postpone this inquiry till we have proceeded a little farther, and till it comes in course to be considered, what Dr. Maclaine hath said in vindication of Archbishop Wake upon some other points. To return to the matter in question.

We may observe, in the course of this correspondence of the Archbishop with Mr. Beauvoir, a great solicitude to discover the real sentiments of the gentlemen of the Sorbonne, upon the subjects of it: "Pray," says his Grace in this letter to Mr. Beauvoir, "do all "you can to search out their real sense of, "and motions at, the receipt of these two let-"ters; I shall thereby be able the better to "judge, how far I may venture hereafter to "OFFER any thing to them upon the OTHER "points in difference between us."

Can words make any thing plainer than these do, that the Archbishop was not in possession of the real sentiments of these Sorbonnists, on the subject of an union? can any thing be more natural than an inference drawn from this passage, that, howsoever they might have expressed their wishes for an union with the church of England, no proposals had been made by them, which discovered their real sentiments? is it not clear that the Archbishop considered himself as the offering party, with respect to the points in difference between them?

I shall be told, that Du Pin's *Commonitorium* was in the Archbishop's hands some time before the date of this letter. True; but some time still before that, Dr. Girardin's speech before the Sorbonne, March $\frac{1}{28}$, 1718, was in the Archbishop's hands; and it is from that time that Dr. Maclaine dates the commencement of a more close, serious, and interesting correspondence between the contracting parties; "when even some particular mention of preli-

minary terms, and certain preparatives for a "future negotiation were brought on."*

Now just here it is, that we want those intermediate letters, of which the Archbishop makes mention in that of August 30.

Dr. Maclaine cites a passage from this speech of Girardin, which, according to him, "discovers rather a desire of making proselytes, "than an inclination to form a coalition, "founded upon concessions, and some reformation on the side of popery?†

And yet, from this speech, Archbishop Wake takes occasion to enter into a more *close, serious*, and *interesting* correspondence with the Gallican doctors. On which side was the more close correspondence likely to begin? on that side which only wanted to make proselytes, or on the other, which seriously wanted a coalition, and in order to that some concessions, and some reformation on the side of popery?

The first explanation of themselves which these Sorbonnists vouchsafed to the Archbi-

* Supplement, p. 26.

† *Ibid.* Dr. Maclaine endeavours to qualify this interpretation by saying, "It may perhaps be alledged, in opposition to this remark, that prudence required a language of this kind in the infancy "of a project of union, whatever concessions might be offered afterwards to bring about it's execution. And this, says the Doctor, "may be true." A saving consideration! evidently calculated to excuse the Archbishop for entering into a correspondence with such people on such a subject. Dr. Maclaine, doubtless, means to suggest, that the Archbishop might understand it thus; which however plainly supposes him to be previously let into the secret; and it may be left to the first sensible man you meet, to determine, whether it contributes more to his Grace's honour, to be considered as the dupe of, or an accomplice in, this kind of prudence.

shop, seems to have been in Dupin's *Commonitorium*, which, according to Dr. Maclaine, did not come into the Archbishop's hands till after the 11th of August, 1718.* A number of letters however had passed between the parties, from March 17, 1718, to this period, which ought to have been produced (particularly those from the Archbishop to Messieurs Beauvoir, Dupin, and Girardin,) by those who desire fairly to prove, that his Grace *did* NOT *form the project of this union.*

These letters cannot be said to be lost. Dr. Maclaine hath cited them; but it is but by piece-meal, which can never satisfy those who want to know the Archbishop's whole transactions with the Gallican doctors, between March 1718, when the correspondence became *more close, serious,* and *interesting*, and Aug. 11th, 1718, soon after which the Archbishop received the *Commonitorium.*

Girardin's speech, we are told by Dr. Maclaine, brought on some particular mention of preliminary terms. This however does not appear on the part of the Sorbonnists, from the Doctor's account of their correspondence: according to Dr. Maclaine's representation, the Gallican letters are just as vague before the speech as after it, till the arrival of the *Commonitorium:* and, as the Archbishop complains, mere letters of compliment. †

On the part of the Archbishop, however, one preliminary term *does* appear during this interval, upon the evidence of Dr. Maclaine

* Supplement, p. 27. † Ibid. p. 43.

himself, viz. "the removal of the Gallican "church from the jurisdiction of Rome."*

Need we wonder, after all this, that Dupin, in the account he drew up of this correspondence, should represent the Archbishop as the first mover in the project of this union? does not the very correspondence itself justify Dupin in that representation? does not the Archbishop represent himself as the seeker of the union? does it not appear from Dr. Maclaine's own detail, that the Archbishop proposed a preliminary term, before any the like advances were made by the Sorbonnists? does not the Archbishop, after all the more *close*, *serious*, and *interesting* correspondence brought on by Girardin's speech, call all that had passed on the side of the Gallican doctors from that period, to Aug. 30, mere pretences? will any thing in Dr. Maclaine's account of the share taken by the Sorbonnists in this project of an union, allow him to call them the first formers of it? and if they were not, who were?

Dr. Maclaine indeed informs us, that when Dupin shewed to Mr. Beauvoir his account of this famous correspondence, "Mr. Beauvoir "observed to him, that one would be led to "imagine, from the manner in which this ac- "count was drawn up, that the Archbishop "made the first overtures with respect to the "correspondence, and was the first who inti- "mated his desire of the union; whereas it was "palpably evident, that he (Dr. Du Pin) had "first solicited the one and the other. Du

* Supplement, p. 27.

" Pin acknowledged this freely and can-
" didly, and promised to rectify it; but was
" prevented by death."*

The authenticity of this anecdote depends upon Dr. Maclaine's credit; not solely indeed, for the Letter-writer had mentioned it before him, and nearly in the very same terms. Neither of them however refers to any other authority, and on that account leave us to wonder how Du Pin could make such a mistake. Is it likely that, having been concerned so deeply in this treaty, he should forget how it began at the first?

However, it seems, this mistake he did make, was made sensible of it, and promised to rectify it; which however, it was acknowledged, he never did. What hindered him? Dr. Maclaine and the Letter-writer say, he was prevented by death.

But though we should let this pass upon us, it is certain Girardin was still living; and as Mr. Beauvoir took this for a high reflection on the Archbishop he should never have rested till he had seen it rectified, especially as he knew the account was intended for the perusal of a very great man, supposed to be the Regent of France. Mr. Beauvoir's honour was concerned in it, as well as the Archbishop's. By some means or other, Mr. Beauvoir came to know, that the mistake was not rectified in Du Pin's life time. Dr. Girardin, was alive, and knew as much of the matter as Du Pin. Mr. Beauvoir therefore should have instantly

* Supplement, p. 35.

procured the rectification of the mistake from him; or, if Du Pin's account was out of his power, at least a solemn attestation from Girardin, that it was a mistake, and that himself and Du Pin were the first movers in the business.

But, after all, what was it that wanted to be rectified? why truly no great matter, as circumstances appear on the face of this account. It was only, first, that the Archbishop did not make the first overtures with respect to the correspondence, which I believe may be true. I can even go farther, and declare my belief that Du Pin, or some of his fellow-sufferers, solicited the correspondence. But then I believe that the correspondence they solicited, was not concerning the Union. It was, secondly, that the Archbishop was not the first who intimated his desire of the Union. This may be true too; for such a desire, it seems, was intimated at Du Pin's table. But that Du Pin solicited the union, I will never believe; nor, to give him his due, does Dr. Maclaine believe it: for the only passage cited from Du Pin, by Dr. Maclaine, that has the least look that way, the doctor allows to mean no more than, an intimation of his desire of an union of the English and Gallican churches; and even that, I firmly believe, he would not have intimated, without some previous notice that it would be acceptable, and some hope of procuring by it, from the Archbishop, the information he wanted.

My reasons for this belief are grounded upon the contents of a letter from Dr. Wilkins, the Archbishop's chaplain, to a particular friend

who is not named; an extract of which, so far as relates to this affair, is here exhibited; and is as follows:

" *Lambeth House, Dec.* 4, 1718.

" *My dear Friend,*

" — The transactions in Paris against the " Pope's Constitution have from time to time " been transmitted to his Grace, sometimes " before they were put in execution, sometimes " immediately after; and, if you will conceal " from whence you have it, I can tell you " particulars of it. The Sorbonne, by private " order from Cardinal Noailles, has constant- " ly sent my Lord all their speeches and trea- " ties printed upon their differences with the " court of Rome; has *made application to my " Lord for a new scheme of ecclesiastical go- " vernment, as near the church of England, " as at present, without much noise and scan- " dal they might do.*

" They have, and do still, send questions " to my Lord, touching the very fundamen- " tal points of popery. The regent, like many " great princes, does not much care for any " profession of religion; but he hates the je- " suits, is no friend to the pope, upon poli- " tical accounts, and is willing to make the " church of France (as well as the kingdom is " already) independent of any monarch or bi- " shop. The cardinal is timorous in his tem- " per, fears the loss of his cap, and the great " animosities of so many bishops and clergy- " men in France.

"My Lord was so much consulted about the "most minute articles of their proceedings, "that he answered some time ago,—*If they "wrote to him as* Dr. Wake, *he was very wil- "ling to give his advice and counsel; but if "they wrote to him as Archbishop of Canter- "bury, the dignity of his station and the ho- "nour of the church of England required, that "the Archbishop of Paris should appear him- "self to my Lord, and not by his friends on- "ly.* But this has not at all discouraged them "from going on; and mutual presents are "exchanged.

"I expect not to be named in your discourse "about this subject amongst your friends. "Very few in this island know of this over- "ture. I am sure nobody in this house does, "besides his Grace, and him to whom the un- "paralleled goodness of our metropolitan is "so kind as to communicate, and now and "then to make the secretary.

"There are different sorts of accounts of this "matter in print; but I have not leisure to "read them. Sure I am, that they that "would write a perfect history of these tran- "sactions, must come to Lambeth for instruc- "tions. If you have a fancy to read something "of it these long winter evenings, I will en- "quire for the best account extant.

"I am, my dearest friend, while I live,

"Your most obedient,

"And humble Servant,

"Dd. Wilkins."*

* Communicated to the author by Dr. Heberden.

I cannot but look upon this letter as a key to this mysterious project of an union with the Gallican church: I have not the least doubt about its being genuine; and could, if I were at liberty, appeal to the very respectable person by whom it was communicated.—The obvious observations upon it are these:

1. That there is not a word of an union of the two churches from one end of it to the other. It appears indeed that the correspondence was begun by the Sorbonne doctors, not with any view to an union, but only by way of application to his Grace of Canterbury, for a scheme of ecclesiastical government, for the use of the Gallican church, *as near*, indeed, *the church of England as at present they might go*; but it is, as near as they might go, *without much noise and scandal.*

2. Dr. Wilkins says, "they still sent ques-"tions to his Grace touching the very funda-"mental points of popery;" that is to say, touching the pope's authority, how far what he claimed was consistent with the liberties of the Gallican church. This is explained in his Grace's letter to Mr. Beauvoir, No. IX, bearing date but two days before this of Dr. Wilkin's, wherein the archbishop observes, "that "while they [the Frenchmen] manage as they "do, with the court of Rome, nothing will "be done, to any purpose; and all ends in "trifling at the last. We," continues his Grace, "honestly deny the pope all autho-"rity over us; they pretend in words to al-"low him so much as is consistent with what

" they call their Gallican privileges: but let him " never so little use it, contrary to their good " liking, they protest against it ; appeal to a " general council, and then mind him as little " as we can do."

Very true; but whatever power the Pope claimed which should be consistent with the liberties of the Gallican church, they were willing to allow him ; and that, the Archbishop might have been sensible, was enough to prevent their ever uniting with the church of England, which would allow him none. The questions therefore sent to the Archbishop, related only to the extent of the Pope's power with respect to their Gallican privileges, a point in which they might very justly think his Grace's great learning, and knowledge in ecclesiastical antiquity, would afford them useful information. If the Archbishop chose to build more upon their questions than they intended, that could not be helped. His Grace, it seems however, by this time, found out that he had mistaken their meaning.

3. Dr. Wilkins mentions " an overture " known to very few in this Island." And it may be asked, what this overture was? I answer, whatever it was, it was an overture of the Archbishop's. Most probably his Grace's overture of corresponding with the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris. In the Doctor's letter indeed, the only object of this proposed correspondence, that appears, is, "a consultation " on the most minute articles of their proceed- " ings," i. e. of the proceedings of the Sorbonnists, in reference to the constitution. But

we see in the Archbishop's remarkable letter of August 30, his object was the union.

Some people may perhaps imagine from hence, that Dr. Wilkins was not let into the whole secret: and I think it likely enough that he was not. He says indeed, that he was now and then made the secretary; but it was only now and then. For the Archbishop tells Mr. Beauvoir, in his letter of November 6, 1718, that "he trusted no amanuensis to "copy for him, because he would not be lia- "ble to be betrayed." And again, in the letter of December 2, "I am a little unhappy, "that I have none here that I yet dare trust "with what I do:" meaning in the business of the union. But though it might not be proper to trust Wilkins with what his Grace did, there was no impropriety in trusting him with what the others did. It was only an application for counsel and advice in their affair with the Pope, which the Archbishop might freely give them without any blameable imputation, either as Dr. Wake, or Archbishop of Canterbury, so far as his Grace's sensibility of his own dignity was not piqued. But whatever Dr. Wilkins did know, he certainly did not know that the Sorbonnists applied to the Archbishop for any thing but a scheme of ecclesiastical government for their own use, in case they should come to a farther breach with the Pope. And this indeed it was that seemed to me to furnish a clue to lead us out of the intricacy and obscurity of this labyrinth, into the plains of truth and day-light.

The Sorbonnists having applied for this scheme of church-government, his Grace, whose notions of ecclesiastical authority were as high as was consistent with his profession of the protestant religion, immediately saw, that the system which took his fancy, and which, he had persuaded himself, either was, or ought to be, that of the church of England, might very well suit the anti-constitutionalists, and *probably* or *possibly*, some differences excepted, which might be settled by treaty, would content them. Full of this idea, he sends them his sketch of the church of England, in certain letters, which Dr. Maclaine doth not think proper to communicate; but apprehending his reader might form some suspicions from the suppression of them, not at all to the advantage of his Grace, he tells us, "these "letters, however, were written with a truly "protestant spirit; the Archbishop insisted in "them upon the truth and orthodoxy of the "articles of the church of England, and did "not make any concession, which supposed the "least approximation to the peculiar doctrines, "or the smallest approbation of the ambitious "pretensions of the church of Rome."*

Did not make any concession. That is not what we want to know yet-a-while; but as these letters were part of the more close, serious, and interesting correspondence, which commenced after Girardin's speech, we desire to be informed, for the present, whether there was nothing in them like an overture towards

* Supplement, p. 27.

an union; no mention of a preliminary article, as the basis of a treaty for such union? without all doubt, there was. Dr. Maclaine's assurance that he made no concession implies it, and a little farther on, he tells us what this preliminary article was.

The Gallican divines, perceiving that this union was a favourite contemplation with his Grace, and that, without giving into it, they would reap no benefit from their consulting him in the most minute articles of their proceedings, thought proper to amuse him with an essay towards such union, which I suppose was the *Commonitorium*, drawn up by Du Pin.

What the contents of it were, or what the Archbishop thought of them, it is not yet time to consider. The present question is, how far the French divines were in earnest in proposing it; for unless they were cordial in pursuing the treaty, their wishes must pass for mere unmeaning compliments.

And here we have as full information from the authentic copies as we can desire. The Sorbonnists go on in such a way, that the Archbishop himself finds out, that it is all pretence,* and trifling; that the preliminary will not be admitted, and that without it nothing could be done to any purpose.† They paid not the least regard to his Grace's expectations of corresponding with the cardinal Archbishop of Paris, which our Archbishop made the criterion of the said cardinal's being in earnest for such an union. The Sorbonne doctors

* No. III. † No. IX.

went on still to be the only correspondents of the english metropolitan, who acquiesced, since no better would be, and condescended to exchange mutual presents with them. Can this be accounted for any way, but by the supposition of a vehement desire in the Archbishop to compass the union at all events?

Du Pin was the person who drew up the *Commonitorium;* and, from the character of him handed down to these times, he might be supposed to be as forward to promote the union in question, as any one of his church. Yet, it seems, he acted so, as to give the Archbishop room to believe, that he thought the church of England was to take directions from him and his company, what to retain and what to give up.* In another place the Archbishop says, "Of your two Doctors, Dr. Piers has the freer "air, even as to the business of a union. Yet "I do not despair of Du Pin."†

And yet this Dr. Piers is the very man of whom Dr. Maclaine says, that, "in that speech "which rendered the correspondence on the "subject of the union *more close*, *serious*, and "*interesting*, and even brought on some par- "ticular mention of preliminary terms, and "certain preparatives for a future negotiation, "he discovered rather a desire of making pro- "selytes, than an inclination to form a coali- "tion founded upon concessions, and some "reformation on the side of popery."

I rest the cause just here; and think I might almost venture to leave it to Dr. Maclaine

* Authentic copies, No. III. † Ibid. No. VII.

himself, whether, as Du Pin was less free in the business of the union than this Dr. Piers de Girardin, it is in the least degree probable, that the said Du Pin should solicit this union, as Mr. Beauvoir would have had it believed, or that he should be the first who formed the project of it?

II. The second question is, whether Archbishop *Wake never made any concessions, nor offered to give up, for the sake of peace, any one point of the established doctrine and discipline of the church of England, in order to promote this union.*

We have seen that Archbishop Wake was extremely fond of this union; that he sought to bring it about, and was visibly chagrined by the circumstances that retarded it. In his letter of August 30, 1718, he did not think it proper to go any further with the Sorbonne Doctors, lest it should expose him to censure; and one would imagine, that unless the cardinal would correspond with him, he would absolutely treat no farther with these inferiors.

But in his next letter that appears in the collection, *viz.* of October the 8, 1718, all these difficulties and scruples are vanished; and it becomes necessary to correspond with the Sorbonne doctors about matters of religion, whatever be the consequence.

This was not all; when his Grace's letters had been shewn to some of the French ministry, and made public enough to raise a clamour against Cardinal Noailles for being concerned in such a negotiation, when he knew the *Abbe du Bois* was disaffected to the union,

and that without the concurrence of the French ministry nothing would be done, when he was even apprehensive that his letters would be printed, and that he should have censures enough for them; even when his Grace knew all this, he could not quit his reveries about this same union, and is still for continuing a correspondence with some of their great men, under certain cautions and provisoes, that his letters should not be exposed; and all this, down to Feb. 9, 1719-20.*

Would it not be strange to find his Grace carrying on his endeavours for an union to these lengths, and yet never disposed to make any concessions on his part, while matters were in a more hopeful way?

Let us then enquire what the truth really was. The Archbishop had proposed, as a preliminary article, "the removal of the Gallican "church from the jurisdiction of Rome." But finding, by Du Pin's *Commonitorium*, that a canonical jurisdiction, in consequence of his primacy, must still be allowed to the Pope upon the plan of the Sorbonnists, his Grace *mollifies* a little upon this article, and seems inclined to compound the matter with them, by "leaving the Pope only a primacy of place "and honour, and that merely by ecclesiasti-"cal authority, as he was once bishop of the "Imperial city."†

Only a primacy! and *merely* by ecclesiastical authority! And was this nothing? was it

* Authentic copies, No. VII. XII. XIII. XIV. XVI.
† Ibid. No. IV.

no concession on the part of the church of England, to allow the Pope to be her titular primate? would it make no aukward impression upon her members? and did his Grace sufficiently consider the extent of that ecclesiastical authority which was required to establish a primate over the universal church?

It is true, his Grace, in his letters to Du Pin and Girardin, limits this primacy in such a manner, as, in his own opinion, to reduce it to a mere empty title. But he still allows it ecclesiastical authority for its foundation, in his letter to Mr. Beauvoir; and that would presently carry it all the lengths of canonical jurisdiction, which the Sorbonnists were willing to attach to it.

The orthodox Letter-writer treats this matter *en bagatelle:* "unless, says he, you call "this a *concession.*"* Whence one may very reasonably conclude, he is one of those moderate church-of-England men, who, according to Du Pin, do not deny the Pope's primacy. Dr. Maclaine, with more truth and judgment, calls them immoderate, which makes it the more surprising that he should not take notice of this blemish in Archbishop Wake's protestancy, especially as he represents it, not as a concession after his Grace had seen the *Commonitorium,* but as a sweetner of his own harsh preliminary term, *viz.* The abolition of the Pope's jurisdiction over the Gallican church, which his Grace had laid down as the basis of the treaty (apparently without any such quali-

* First Letter, p. 83.

fication) before he had seen the *Commonitorium*. Insomuch that, instead of covering the Archbishop's foible by this little piece of art, the Doctor leaves the reader to conclude, that "a primacy of order, due to the Pope, not "only from the prerogative of presiding in "the imperial city, but by ecclesiastical au- "thority," must have been an original tenet of the Archbishop's, and not merely a pacific accommodation of his sentiments to the plan of the *Commonitorium*.*

That the Archbishop meant, that the united churches should in common acknowledge the Pope's primacy, appears from the following passage: "As to the Pope's authority, I take "the difference to be only this, that we may "all agree *(without troubling ourselves with "the reason)* to allow him a primacy of order

* See Supplement, p. 32; and compare p. 27. I think it not an inequitable inference from some things dropped in his Grace's writings, that his Grace was persuaded, that episcopal jurisdiction is of divine right; and that I suppose may be what he means by ecclesiastical authority. "And," says an eminent and judicious writer, "let the imagination be well heated with the beauty and expediency "of ranks, degrees, and orders in the church, and we shall find it not "so difficult as some may imagine, for weak people to advance in "their conceits from prelates to primates, and thence to patriarchs. "King James I. had, or pretended to have, a zeal for the divine "right of episcopal jurisdiction; but he could not stop there: his "principles carried him up to the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, "to whom he declares himself willing to submit as patriarch of the "west; and *primus episcopus inter omnes episcopos et princeps "episcoporum*, even, says his Majesty, as Peter was *Princeps Apos- "tolorum*." Examination of the scheme of church power laid down in bishop Gibson's Codex, p. 22, 23, where king James's Premonition to the Apology for the oath of allegiance, edit. 1609, p. 46, is cited.

" in the episcopal college; they would have it " thought necessary to hold communion with " him, and allow him a little canonical autho- " rity over them, as long as he will leave them " to prescribe the bounds of it. We fairly say, " we know of no authority he has in our realm; " but for actual submission to him, they as lit- " tle mind it as we do."*

This proposal is evidently calculated to accommodate the Sorbonnists, with an expedient relative to their opinion of our XXXVIIth. article of religion. His Grace had before given a reason why the Pope should have the primacy allowed him. That reason would not do for the Sorbonnists. His Grace therefore proposes to allow the primacy simply, and to leave the reason *in medio*, which is going one considerable step farther in the concession, as it leaves a door open for those who at that time know of no authority the Pope had in this realm, to be better informed in due season, and to be taught, that the primacy being admitted, the authority followed of course, as no reason appeared why it should not.

Let us now proceed to examine, whether there are not some other hopeful approaches towards the Gallicans, which may justly be called concessions:

" There is nothing," says the Archbishop, " in our liturgy, but what they allow of, save " the single rubric relating to the eucharist."†

* Authentic copies, No. X.
† Authentic copies, No. VIII.

In that rubric it is declared, that by kneeling at the communion, "no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the "sacramental bread or wine, there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of "Christ's natural flesh and blood. For the "sacramental bread and wine remain still in "their very natural substances, and therefore "may not be adored (for that were idolatry to "be abhorred of all faithful christians.) And "the natural body and blood of our Saviour "Christ are in heaven, and not here; it being "against the truth of Christ's natural body, "to be at one time in more places than one."

Du Pin, in adapting the XXVIIIth article of religion to his scheme of union, will have it, "that the bread and wine are really changed "into the body and blood of Christ."* The consequence of which would be, that to adore the sacrament on the knees is no idolatry.

Now it is plain, that without some concession on the one side or the other, there could be no union with respect to this article. It does not appear that the Frenchmen made, or were inclined to make, any: and whether what follows is not a concession on the part of the Archbishop, let any indifferent person judge.

"Would they purge out of their [offices] "what is contrary to our [principles,] we might "join in the public service with them, and yet "leave one another in the free liberty of be-"lieving *transubstantiation* or not, so long as "we did not require any thing to be done by

* Supplement, p. 29.

"either in pursuance of that opinion. The "Lutherans do this very thing; many of them "communicate, not only in prayers, but the "communion, with us; and we never enquire "whether they believe *consubstantiation*, or "even pay any worship to Christ as present "with the elements, so long as their outward "actions are the same with our own, and they "give no offence to any with their opinions."*

This is his Grace's compromise, replete, as it should seem to me, with a sufficient quantity of concessions.

1. It is conceded, that the obnoxious rubric might be taken away, or at least considered as unworthy of any regard; the admission of persons who believe *transubstantiation*, to communicate with those who do not believe it, being a plain concession, that the adoration of the elements is not idolatry.

2. It is conceded, that the minister who consecrates the elements may, with respect to certain partakers, have a power to *transubstantiate* them. They who believe *transubstantiation* would not communicate but under that persuasion. If you disabuse them, they will not communicate. If you do not, you admit that they form a right notion of the power of the officiating minister.

3. It is conceded, that they who do not believe *transubstantiation*, and who consequently communicate according to the pure uncorrupted institution of Christ, may communicate with idolaters. For whether the rubric remains

* Authentic copies, No. XII. p. 52.

or not, the disbelievers of *transubstantiation* are firmly persuaded, that no change happens to the bread and wine by any words pronounced over them, and, consequently, that all who adore them must be idolaters. And whether the christian scriptures permit the abhorrers of idols to have fellowship, in the same act of worship, with idolaters, is a question, which his Grace was, no doubt, very capable of answering.

For my part, I do not believe, that when the author of *The Confessional* concluded, from the passage of *Mosheim*, as exhibited by Dr. Maclaine, that Archbishop Wake, in encouraging such a treaty, must have made concessions in favour of the grossest superstition and idolatry, he expected to meet with so striking an instance of it as this.

As to what is said of the Lutherans, supposing the matter of fact to have been as the Archbishop represents it, the case of the Lutheran is widely different from that of the papist. Luther, it is true, at the beginning of his reformation, left it free for christians to adore the elements in the sacrament, or not, according as they were or were not persuaded of the real presence.* He adds, however, that supposing the real presence of Christ in the sacrament (which indeed was his own opinion) Christ was not there present for the purpose of being adored.

At length, in the year 1544, he abolished the elevation of the host, at the instance of the

* Hospinian, Hist. Sacrament, part ii. p. 19.

landgrave of Hesse (according to Hospinian) as productive of an idolatrous adoration.*

Some time before this, Melancthon had declared against any adoration in the sacrament, but particularly against the αρτολατρεια as he called it.† And it was so well understood among the papists, in the year 1545, that the Lutherans had rejected the adoration of the sacrament, that Teutlebius, bishop of Hildersheim, compared them, upon that account, to Michal the daughter of Saul, who derided David for dancing before the ark.‡

There was indeed much perplexity in the several opinions which were advanced it those days among the lutheran doctors, concerning the terms, *inclusion*, *affixion*, *ferrumination*, &c. made use of to account for what they called the consubstantiation : and it must be owned, that, the real presence being once admitted, they were put to all their shifts to keep clear of adoration in the most obnoxious sense.‖

* Hospinian, Hist. Sacrament, p. 328, 329.

† Sacramenta pacta sunt, ut rebus sumptis adsit aliud. Hoc cum ita sit, την προσκυνησιν addi non oportuit : aut si additur, non est referenda προς τον αρτον. Hosp. Hist. Sacr. part ii. p. 296.

‡ Adorationem sacramenti, etiam cum circumgestatur, exigit, eâdem latriâ quæ Christo præstanda esset. Lutheranos, quid id recusant, cum Micol filiâ Saulis comparat, Davidem ante arcam saltantem, deridente. Seckendorf. lib. iii. p. 551.

‖ De adoratione sacramenti, invitum se loqui dicit, ob immodestam hac de re disputationem ; sequi se tamen profitetur Lutherum. Rejicit errorem Helvetiorum, qui præsentiam realem credere nolint ; deinde inter *adorationem internam* seu *spiritualem* et *externam* distinguit, et de hâc sacramento exhibendâ præceptum divinum extare negat, cum tamen hæc fere sola, absque internâ, in papatu usurpata sit. Ubi vero interna adsit, externam quoque decenti ritu et modo secuturam esse non dubitat ;—improbat autem penitus, si reverentia

Some of the modern lutheran doctors may possibly have talked in the same strain, and these may have had their disciples. There is some reason, however, to believe, that few of them have held the necessity of adoration of the consubstantiated elements, or indeed have practised it in any degree.* But as I have had

illa ad panem aut vinum referatur, quæ soli Christo, quem invisibiliter, sed vere præsentem esse credimus, debetur.—Circa ritum adorationis sive venerationis, genuflexionem, ut necessariam, non exigit, suadet tamen. Seckendorf. l. iii. p. 503. who gives us this passage from a sermon of George Prince of Anhalt, delivered to his domestics in 1544. I much question whether, if the doctrine of this illustrious preacher had been established as an article of religion, divines of the church of England might not have been found, at some periods, ready to subscribe to it, *ex animo*.

* In the year 1539 a forged writing was transmitted to England, in the name of the German protestants, pretending that they were wavering with respect to many points of popery, with a view, as was supposed, of facilitating the passing of king Henry the eighth's six articles, then in agitation. Among other things it was alledged, that the Lutherans held the real presence, nearly upon the same grounds that the papists did. Upon which Seckendorf remarks, *Addere debuissent rejectum esse ab evangelicis dogma* transubstantiationis, *cum omni sequela, inclusionis, circumgestationis, et* ADORATIONIS *sacramenti*. Hist. Lutheranismi, lib. iii. p. 229. Whence one may conclude, that the adoration of the sacrament was no doctrine or practice in the lutheran church in Seckendorf's time.—Mosheim, in that chapter of his Ecclesiastical History which contains an account of the lutheran church, mentions no particular opinions of any lutheran doctors, or of any class of them, on the subject of the adoration of the sacrament, or of any difference among them on that head, though something of that kind was hardly avoidable, and might perhaps be found in the dispute between the divines of Tubingen and Giessen, particularly concerning *the omnipresence of the flesh of Christ*, &c. Hist. Eccles. p. 837, 838. edit. 1764. However, that *adoration due to the sacramental elements*, was no dogma of Mosheim himself, appears by what he says, p. 475. *Panem in S. Cœnæ celebratione consecratum, divinis honoribus, dogmate* transubstantiationis *ornari, nemo mirabitur*. Which Dr. Maclaine

no opportunity of consulting the modern lutheran writers on this article of their system, I can only suppose, that none of them have carried this matter farther than Melancthon, and the Prince of Anhalt, above cited have done: and if there should be such, I apprehend their disciples would hardly communicate with the church of England.

But let us suppose that some lutherans, persuaded that the elements ought to be adored by genuflexion, and ignorant of the terms of the rubric abovementioned, should have communicated with the church of England, it must certainly have been on the supposition, that the tenets of that church were the same with their own; a supposition in which they would have some encouragement to persist, not only by observing the posture of the communicants, but by hearing some expressions in the public service, not altogether abhorrent of the doctrine of the real presence. Not to mention, that though they should be aware of the rubric, they might be recommended to certain doctors, nominally of the church of England, from whose writings they would be apt to gather, that the rubric was *protestatio contra factum.*

translates thus: "It will not appear surprizing that the bread consecrated in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, became the object of religious worship; for this was the natural consequence of the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation:" vol. I. p. 692. This, I think, is sufficient to acquit the Lutheran doctors contemporary with Mosheim, from all suspicion of allowing any religious worship to be due to the bread in the Eucharist, even as a consequence of the doctrine of consubstantiation.

And is it honourable, is it equitable to the church of England, to leave such people (as Dr. Wake is inclined to do) under such mistakes? is it not plainly sacrificing truth to peace?

Let us proceed in our enquiry after concessions. In the latin letter of archchbishop Wake dated May 1, 1719, (of which, by the way, we have only an extract) to Dr. Du Pin, that did not arrive till after the doctor's death, the folowing passage occurs:

In dogmatibus, prout a te candide proponuntur, non admodum *dissentimus: in regimine ecclesiastico, minus:* in FUNDAMENTALIBUS, *sive doctrinam, sive disciplinam spectemus*, NON OMNINO.*

By turning back to Dr. Maclaine's account of Du Pin's *Commonitorium*, we find the following candid proposition at the very head of the rest:

That, to the sufficiency of scripture, as containing (according to our sixth article) all things necessary to salvation, we must add tradition, as an authentic, if not the sole interpreter of scripture, with respect to articles of faith; for that is really the meaning of these (not illustrating, as Dr. Maclaine has it, but) explicatory and confirming traditions, placed about the scriptures, as new guards, against (not gainsayers, as Dr. Maclaine turns the words, but) *aliter sapientes;* that is to say, against all who shall presume to think differently from these cautionary traditions.† And

* Authentic Copies, No. XV.

† Supplement, p. 28.

that this is Du Pin's meaning, appears evidently from what he is represented to say upon Article XXI, viz. " That every private man has " not a right to reject what he thinks contrary " to scripture."*

This fundamental, in which Dr. Wake must be supposed to have agreed with Du Pin, being thus laid down, it would be cruel, greatly to dissent from those dogmata which depend upon these traditions.

Among these are *Supererogation*, *Infallibility*, *Purgatory*, *Indulgences*, *Image-worship*, *Saint-worship*, *Transubstantiation*, *A Septenary of Sacraments*, &c. concerning several of which, Du Pin is very *candidly* content you shall take away the *name*, provided you will leave the *thing*.

I hope I am not mistaken in calling the sixth article of the church of England, one of her fundamentals.† I am not quite so clear in what follows.

* Supplement, p. 29.

* I should have no manner of scruple on this head, if the reverend and learned Dr. THOMAS BALGUY, in a late sermon, had not said, that " men consult scripture for what is not to be found " in it ; an accurate description of their rights and duties :" that is to say, of their religious rights and duties; for the doctor immediately distinguishes this kind of *delusion*, from that of going to scripture to ascertain the particulars of their civil obligations, p. 4. A little after which, he tells us, " It might well have been expected, " that the members of the English church should have seen farther, " and judged better : because this church, even from its founda- " tion, has been carefully instructed in these very points, by some " of its ablest defenders:" p. 4. This, I presume, is meant of the nonage of the church; otherwise it is but an odd circumstance in her case, that she should want instruction and defence at one and the same time, and that these very different provinces should be delegated to the same men. It is said, however, somewhere, on the

" He [Du Pin] is less inclined to conces-
" sions on the XXXIst Article, and maintains,
" that the sacrifice of Christ is not only com-
" memorated, but continued in the eucharist,
" and that every communicant offers him with
" the priest."*

It seems to be necessary to ascertain the de-

part of this Engliſh church, that, " *it is not lawful for her to or-*
" *dain* ANY THING *which is contrary to* GOD'S WORD." Whether this was advanced by any of theſe *double capacity* men in the character of *Inſtructors* or *Defenders*, one cannot be poſitive. I am apt to think it might be in the guiſe of inſtructors; for, if I am not miſtaken, ſome of thoſe who have appeared in the quality of her defenders have, by the benefit of implication and diſtinction, frittered the plain meaning of this inſtruction quite away. Be that as it may, it ſtands at preſent as part of the Engliſh church's public inſtitution; and the queſtion with me is, how we ſhall judge of the church's lawful right to ordain certain things, without conſulting ſcripture for an accurate deſcription of what is, or is not, contrary to the word of God? I own, I have ſome curioſity to know what Dr. Rutherforth would ſay to all this, who hath derived the authority he aſcribes to church governors in general, from an appointment under Chriſt, and appeals for particulars to Paul's inſtructions to Timothy and Titus. For if, according to Dr. Balguy, the ſcripture does not teach, but only ſuppoſes the knowledge of a right to impoſe ſubſcription to human articles of religion, the Profeſſor hath puzzled himſelf to no purpoſe to find in the ſacred writings, either the articles, or the mode of ſubſcription, preſcribed by St. Paul to Timothy and Titus. I am no leſs concerned for my friend the Letter-writer, who is for erecting his ſyſtem of church authority, after Grotius and Caſaubon, on the baſis of antiquity; for equally peremptory is Dr. Balguy, that the knwledge of antiquity will contribute nothing towards reſolving the variety of doubts and queſtions that ariſe on the ſubject of church authority from the bare words of ſcripture. *Serioufly, it is a lamentable caſe*, that theſe venerable old poſture maſters ſhould be ſo degraded, at a time of life when it muſt be ſuppoſed their joints are grown too ſtiff to ply to the contorſions of this new exerciſe.

* Supplement; p. 30.

nomination under which this candid proposition falls, before we go any farther.

" Du Pin," says Dr. Maclaine, " reduces " the controversy between the two churches " to three heads, *viz. Articles of Faith,—Rules* " *and ceremonies of Ecclesiastical Discipline* " *—and Moral Doctrine*, or rules of practice; " and these he treats, by entering into an ex- " amination of the XXXIX Articles of the " Church of England."*

Now, I apprehend, the proposition concerning the continuation of the sacrifice of Christ in the eucharist cannot be said to belong to either of the two latter heads, and must consequently, in Du Pin's estimation, fall under the *first*, as an *Article of Faith.*

Dr. Wake, in the latin passage cited from him above, distributes the points in controversy between the two churches, into *Dogmata*, *Regimen Ecclesiasticum*, and *Fundamentalia, sive doctrinæ*, *sive disciplinæ.*

Perhaps it would be too hard upon his Grace to suppose that he classed the XXXIst Article under the head of Fundamentals, for then he must be understood to have given it up to Du Pin without more ado. With the Archbishop's second head it hath nothing to do. It remains that we suppose him to have considered it as one of the dogmata, concerning which there was some little difference between his Grace and his correspondent.

The word Δογμα in scripture, and in the most approved Greek authors, generally signifies a

* Supplement; p. 28.

Decree, or a *Law*, enacted by public authority. In this light, perhaps, the Archbishop considered this XXXIst Article. And in this light one may consider the decrees of Trent, which Du Pin follows in holding the continuation of the sacrifice of Christ in the eucharist.

Protestants, in general, have thought the doctrine of this XXXIst Article to be so expressly contained in scripture, and the contrary dogma of the papists so fraught with gross absurdities, and even impieties, that it can give no one pleasure but a zealous papist, to find an Archbishop of Canterbury, not much differing from the council of Trent on this head. It may be alledged, that it does not appear his Grace ever came thoroughly into it, and only *charitably* made room for it, among other concessions, depending upon transubstantiation, above mentioned: and even so, for me, it may pass with the rest.

What concessions his Grace made with respect to *Ecclesiastical Government*, in allowing the Pope a *Primacy of order*, or of *Place* and *Honour*, *without troubling himself about the reasons of it*, hath been noticed above. And in fundamentals, no concessions were wanted on either side. In these, both the parties were perfectly agreed.

When I first saw this full agreement in fundamentals, between an Archbishop of Canterbury, as representative of the protestant church of England, and Dr. Du Pin, as factor for the popish Gallican church, I could not but a little regret, that the defence of Dr. Wake should

be allotted to the learned translator of Chancellor Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

We read in this history, that George Calixtus, an eminent lutheran divine, had some kind of pacification in his head, with respect to the romanists, the lutherans, and the calvinists, to which Calixtus's adversaries gave the technical name of *Syncretism.*

Mosheim says, in a note, that " they who " took this for a project of union with the pope " and his church, were much mistaken, and " judged rashly; for that Calixtus publicly " ly declared, that with the church of Rome, " such as it then was, no concord or society " could be entered into; and that whatever " hopeth ere might be once of such agreement " ment, it was all extinguished by the thun- " derbolts of the council of Trent." The historian, however, blames Calixtus for several things in his writings, and particularly for teaching, that, " *concerning the foundation* " *of faith, there was no dissension between the* " *papists and the lutherans.*" And he wishes he had either wholly omitted this, or had expressed it in more proper and agreeable terms. " Calixtus, indeed," he observes, " constant- " ly held, that many things were laid upon " this foundation of religion, by the papists " and their adherents, which no good and " wise man would embrace. And how much," says he, " this abates the invidiousness and " turpitude of this opinion, is manifest."*

* Dicitur vulgo pacem cum Romano pontifice et ejus familia fuisse, temere prorsus. Publice enim professus est, cum ecclesiâ Ro-

Two things here are more especially observable:

1. Mosheim thought it necessary to acquit Calixtus of the charge of attempting an union with the church of Rome, by shewing, that Calixtus thought such union impracticable. He thought it a scandal to Calixtus to have such a project imputed to him. This may be gathered from what follows. For,

2. He severely censures Calixtus for saying, that there was "no dissension between the lutherans and papists, as to the foundation of "faith." He thinks it an invidious and shameful opinion: and though he would have it thought (to save the credit of Calixtus as much as the case would bear) that this opinion was considerably qualified by what Calixtus had said elsewhere, yet that was but a qualification, "which did not totally discharge the invi-

manâ, qualis nunc eſt nullam a nobis concordiam et ſocietatem in iri poſſe, et ſi quæ olim ſpes extitit diſcidii ſanandi, eam omnem tridentini concilii fulminibus extinctam et deletam eſſe.——Docuit quidem, *de fundamento fidei nos inter et pontificios, nihil eſſe diſſenſionis:* atque utinam hoc aut prorſus omiſiſſet, aut verbis magis aptis et opportunis expreſſiſſet! At idem tamen conſtantiſſime ſenſit, fundamento religionis a pontificibus et eorum ſectatoribus, plurima eſſe impoſita, quæ nemo bonus et ſapiens receperit. Quod quantum de illius opinionis *invidiâ* et *turpitudine* detrahat, manifeſtum eſt.—Quid igitur, dices, ſibi voluit? Primum illud; ſi fieri poſſet, ut ad eum ſtatum revocaretur eccleſia Romana, in quo prioribus quinque rei chriſtianæ ſæculis fuit, nihil habituros amplius cur communitatem ejus repudient proteſtantes. Deinde hoc; ex hodiernis etiam Pontificis Romani aſſeclis—illos æternæ ſalutis ſpe privandos haud eſſe, nec pro hæreticis habendos, qui bona fide tenent, quæ a parentibus et magiſtris tradita acceperunt—modo ea ſimpliciter credant, quæ Symbolo Apoſtolorum continentur, et ad Jeſu Chriſti præcepta vitam conformare ſtudeant. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* p. 828, 829.

diousness and the turpitude from the obnoxious opinion.

Dr. Maclaine hath translated this whole note (with what accuracy I shall not say) without finding the least fault with Mosheim; whom, to do justice to the doctor's impartiality, he does not spare when he thinks him in the wrong. I have looked into the supplement, and cannot find any correction of this note; so that, I conclude, the doctor thought there was nothing blame worthy either in Mosheim's defence or reprehension of Calixtus.

Is it not then surprising, that the same learned person should undertake the defence of D. Wake, who was much more faulty than Calixtus in both these respects? Dr. Wake actually promoted an union with the popish Gallican church, without being at all discouraged with the thunderings of Trent, or thinking an union impracticable on that account. You will say, perhaps, that the Archbishop treated with a man who proposed the dogmata of the church of Rome with candour and moderation. Be that as it may, it was with a man who abode by the most obnoxious of them; and whether Du Pin regarded the fulminations of Trent or no, these are the dogmata of Trent, and from these, Dr. Wake says, he doth not greatly dissent.

Dr. Wake roundly asserts, that he doth not at all differ from Du Pin, on the head of fundamentals. But Du Pin's fundamentals were the fundamentals of the church of Rome; and I think, there is little reason to doubt but that Calixtus took his account of fundamentals from

as candid and moderate romanists as Du Pin. And yet we find not that Dr. Wake's agreement with Du Pin is at all qualified with any such drayback, as was thought by Mosheim to diminish the turpitude of Calixtus's opinion. How should it indeed, when Dr. Wake extends his agreement with Du Pin to fundamentals of discipline as well as of doctrine?*

Dr. Maclaine touches upon the *intrepidity* of the author of *The Confessional;* if he meant it by way of compliment, that author hath had an opportunity of returning it with interest.

It hath been observed, that foreigners are often apt to incur grievous mistakes when they write about the affairs of Great Britain. I am persuaded, Dr. Maclaine would not have undertaken the defence of Archbishop Wake in this transaction concerning an union with the Gallican church, had he known the Archbishop's sentiments upon some particular points,†

* Dr. Maclaine hath turned Mosheim's words, *invidia* and *turpitudine*, by the less criminous term, extravagance. It is indeed of no great consequence to an english reader to know so very exactly what Mosheim thought of Calixtus's opinion; but it is nevertheless of some consequence in the present case, particularly to those who think that the model of the Lutheran church is much nearer that of the church of Rome, than the model of the church of England; a circumstance by no means favourable to our Archbishop, if, upon the comparison, it so turns out.

† Archbishop Wake, in his controversy with Bossuet, made a remarkable concession, by which, however, I believe, not one in ten of those on whose behalf he made it are disposed to abide. The Archbishop, it seems, did not scruple to declare, that, *as to the honours due to the genuine relicks of the Martyrs or Apostles, no protestant would ever refuse whatever the primitive churches paid to them.* The practice of these primitive churches in this article, to which no protestant would refuse to conform, is brought down by a

of which, they from whom he had this information concerning the project of union would not be the most forward to apprise him. He bespeaks indeed our expectations of his impartiality, " from his situation in life, which has " placed him at a distance from the scenes of " religious and ecclesiastical contention in " England, and cut him off from those perso- " nal connexions that nourish the prejudices " of party spirit more than many are aware " of;" and he tells us, " impartiality would " be still more expected from the principles, " were they known."*

Of Dr. Maclaine's principles I pretend not to form any precarious conjectures; or to make any other judgment of them than such as is fairly suggested by what he exhibits in his notes and appendixes, subjoined to his translation of Mosheim's history. But I must own, the intimation of his being cut off from *personal connexions* in this country would have had

certain divine, much such a protestant as the Archbishop, so low as the year 350. *Jesuit Cabal farther opened*: p. 29, 30. Luckily for the protestant cause, this concession fell under the notice of the learned and ingenious Dr. Middleton; who, having given an account of the practice within the period named, goes on thus: " After this " view of the practice, if we should beg our Archdeacon to inform " us a little more precisely, what part a protestant ought to act in this " case; whether, with the first christians in the days of the Apostles, " he ought to observe a perfect indifference or neutrality about them, " neither honouring them nor insulting them, or, with the first chris- " tians after the Apostles, *gather them up with a religious care*, " *wrap them up in silk or fine linen, deposit them in sacred places*, " *treat them as the most precious jewels, and inestimable treasures* " *of the christian church*, he would stick, I dare say, to his text," &c. *Remarks on the Jesuit Cabal*, p. 122.

* Supplement, p. 22.

more weight with me, if the patronage of an eminent English prelate had not been announced so early as in the first page of his preface; and if there had not been the same topics, authorities, reasonings, and deductions, with respect to the defence of Archbishop Wake, in his third appendix, that are made use of by the Letter-writer so lately dismissed, on the same subject. And if we may not judge of his principles by the common rule of *noscitur ex sociis*, he cannot do himself more credit with the friends of christian liberty, and christian simplicity, than to make it known that his agreement with these gentlemen is only occasional and temporary, when and where his own defence and his own estimation make it necessary to adopt such parts of their several systems, as *pro hâc vice* may be for his purpose.

It now appears, that he did not know that part of the English history relating to these transactions of Dr. Wake with the French divines of the Sorbonne, so well as Mosheim did. Dr. Maclaine did not know English anecdotes so well, in other instances.* And though the

* Mosheim had said that *Martin Seidelius* affirmed, CHRISTUM *male pro Messia haberi : verum ejus munus interpretatione legis naturæ, culpa hominum vehementer obscuratæ,* UNICE *contineri.* And he added in the end of the paragraph, *si ea demas quæ de Messia docuit, cetera multis inter Anglos, Batavos, aliosque populos hodie vehementer arrident*: p. 843. So far as this related to the English, it was sufficiently intelligible to Englishmen, and particularly to those who had read Bishop Warburton's just reprehensions of the writers who hold this opinion. Which made it very surprising, that Dr. Maclaine, in his note upon this passage, should be at a loss to know what Dr. Mosheim meant by this insinuation ; and that he should suppose it to have been thrown out in

author of the Confessional, when first he made his remarks on the passage of Mosheim, knew perhaps as little of that particular transaction as Dr. Maclaine did when he translated it, yet he certainly knew particulars of Archbishop Wake's character, which would keep him, and a great many more, from *staring*, upon their meeting with this account in Mosheim. Though the same persons may very possibly stare sufficiently to find the correspondence published in this supplement, brought as a proof that Archbishop Wake neither formed the project of an union with the Gallican church, nor was at all disposed to make any concessions in order to bring it about.

By looking into the Confessional, Dr. Maclaine became acquainted with Archbishop Wake's opposition to the repeal of the *Schism Bill.* But instead of applying this information to the very natural purpose of accounting for that transaction with the Gallican divines, which, as it was mentioned by Mosheim, had *surprised* and *perplexed* him, he unluckily applied to a learned and worthy clergyman of the church of England (whose interest it happened

a fit of ill humour: vol. II. p. 472. By the time the learned translator had prepared his second edition, he had got better information, and perhaps (if one might venture to calculate probabilities) by his personal connexions in this island. And therefore, if I might have advised him, he should have ordered the note in the first edition to be absolutely expunged; and not have corrected it by adding a probable conjecture, with respect to what he certainly knew to be the truth; and then putting his former reproof to the account of Mosheim's "want of precision," which, whatever it might be in *other* instances, was assuredly not his failing in *this*. See Supplement, p. 78.

to be to gloss over Archbishop Wake's principles and conduct, with the best possible varnish that could be had) for an explanation of this unlooked for instance of his Grace's catholic spirit.

If the writer of the *Three Letters to the author of the Confessional* had not concealed his name, we might have known who this worthy and learned clergyman was to whom Dr. Maclaine applied on this occasion; for the very same account of Archbishop Wake's reasons for opposing the repeal of the Schism Bill that appears in the *Supplement*, p. 38, is given in the first of these three letters, p. 87, and in the very same words, without the least intimation that the Letter-writer had *his* account at second hand.

Had Dr. Maclaine consulted almost any of our historians, he would have found that a little before the bill for repealing the act for *preventing the growth of schism* was brought into the house of Lords, which was December 13, 1718, the dissenters had resumed their consultations, how they might be relieved from the hardships laid upon them, not only by the *occasional* and *schism bills*, but likewise by the *sacramental test.**

These consultations, and the disposition of some principal persons among the clergy, as well as in the ministry, to afford them the relief they solicited, could be no secrets to the Archbishop: and may serve for a comment on

* See Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, 8vo, 1758, vol. VII. p. 243, 244.

that passage with which he begins his letter to Mr. Beauvoir, dated October 8, 1718. "Whatever," says his Grace, "be the consequence "of our corresponding with the Sorbonne doc- "tors about matters of religion, THE PRESENT "SITUATION OF OUR AFFAIRS plainly seems "TO MAKE IT NECESSARY FOR US SO TO "DO."* Undoubtedly by way of providing a balance against the pernicious machinations of these schismatics and their abettors. I own, there is an air of mystery in the Archbishop's expressions; but what else can they mean? What *other* situation of our affairs at that time was it, that could require this correspondence with the doctors of the Sorbonne, much less that could make it *necessary* for us. Had any thing else happened between August 30 and October 8, to bring on this necessity all at once? Can the Letter-writer, can Dr. Maclaine, clear up this matter to the public? If they can, is it for the credit of their cause to leave us in the dark? If they cannot, are they weak enough to suppose that men of sense will not make very interesting reflections on so remarkable a coincidence, that at the very time an Archbishop of Canterbury was endeavouring to exclude the protestant dissenters of his own country from the equitable privileges of englishmen and christians, which several, even of the episcopal bench, desired to have secured to them, his Grace was carrying on a correspondence about matters of religion with certain

* Authentic Copies; No. IV.

doctors of the Sorbonne, in order to an union with the popish Gallican church?

The Letter-writer, to do him justice, never leaves matters short at a pinch. He undertakes to give Dr. Maclaine an account of the Archbishop's reasons for opposing the repeal of the schism bill; in doing of which, it seems to me that he hath imposed upon the Doctor, and hath caused him to retail a falsehood to the world, as he himself had done before. Observe, I say, *so it seems to me.* Let us hear him.

"Archbishop Wake's objection to the repeal "of the schism act was founded on this con- "sideration *only*, that such a repeal was need- "less, as no use had been made, or was likely "to be made, of that act."

I have seen several accounts of Archbishop Wake's objections to this repeal, but from none of them could I ever learn that the Archbishop "said, *no use was likely to be made* of the schism "act. They all stop at that reason given by "the Archbishop, that no advantage had "been taken of it against the dissenters, ever "since it had been made."

It had been indeed most absurd for his Grace to have said no use was likely to be made of it for the future, when, according to the Letter-writer, "he had observed a sort of spirit in "the dissenters and others, which made him "afraid, that from the repeal of the other act, "(viz. that against occasional conformity) "considerable damage might follow to the "church over which he presided."* And in

* Supplement, p. 38.

such a case, can it be supposed so vigilant a champion of the church would not have used the arms he had in his hands against the damagers?

The Archbishop of York (Sir William Dawes) seconded his brother of Canterbury; and his reason was, that "the dissenters were never to "be gained by indulgence." Was it likely that no use would be made of an act, which was endeavoured to be perpetuated for the purpose of gaining the dissenters by severity?

Hence I conclude, that the words, *or was likely to be made*, are the interpolation of the Letter-writer, who is for securing to Archbishop Wake the character of moderation, at the expence of his common sense.

"It does not appear," says Dr. Maclaine, "that the dissenters in England made to the "Archbishop any proposals relative to an union "with the established church."*

It would have been marvellous if they had, when they knew him to be so zealously disposed to cut them off from the common rights of protestants and of christians.

"Or," he goes on, "that he made any pro-"posals to them on that head."

No; he rather chose to negotiate with the divines of the popish Gallican church. In excuse for this shyness of the Archbishop towards the dissenters, Dr. Maclaine pleads the violence of some of the dissenters of those times, and the sort of spirit they shewed, menacing the damage of the church.†

* Supplement, p. 37. † Ibid, p. 38.

We desire, either that this *violence*, and this *damaging spirit* of the dissenters of those times, may be proved upon them by particular facts, or that Dr. Maclaine will ingenuously confess (what is certainly the truth of the case) that he has been imposed upon by vague accusations, and invidious misrepresentations, communicated to him by such worthy and learned persons as the Letter-writer and company.

To balance this narrow and unsociable spirit of the Archbishop towards our domestic dissenters, Dr. Maclaine mentions his Grace's "holding an extensive correspondence with "the [anti-episcopal] protestants abroad, and "that of the most friendly sort."

What was all that to those who were hurt by his *unfriendliness* at home, where only he had the power to hurt any one? what was it to the foreign protestants, whether he was *friendly* or *unfriendly* to them?

A great parade however is made at the end of this Supplement, with some extracts of the Archbishop's letters to foreign divines, upon which several striking remarks might be made, if it was worth the while. One particular I cannot help remarking, as it seems to bear a little hard upon his Grace's sincerity.

The last words of the extracts from one of his letters to professor Turretin, are these:

O quantum potuit insana φιλαυτία! Et in aliorum conscientias, quam omnes verbis rejicimus, plerique re exerere cupimus, dominandi libido! Benedictus Deus qui ALIUM PLERUMQUE, IN HOC NOSTRO ORBE ANIMUM INDIDERIT!*

* Authentic Copies, No. XXIV.

This letter bears date December 1, 1718, and could hardly have reached professor Turretin's hands before this very prelate, who *blesses God* so devoutly, *that there was so little of the spirit of domineering over men's consciences in England*, did his utmost, in conjunction with such names as Dawes, Atterbury, Gastrel, Smallridge, &c. to perpetuate a law, *which tended to deprive parents of the natural right of educating their own children.*—Parents, of the very same religious profession with Dr. Turretin to whom he was writing this solemn thanksgiving!—Does not this solemn benediction, contrasted with his Grace's practice, put one in mind of our Letter-writer's devout ejaculations, interspersed so commodiously with his abuses of the author of *The Confessional*, all through his pamphlet.

But since Dr. Maclaine has brought us into the department of his Grace's correspondence with foreign protestant divines, I hope he will give me leave to exhibit one more specimen of it, of which he hath not given us the least hint, though probably, or possibly, it may not have entirely escaped his researches.

We have seen above, that, according to Dr. Maclaine's learned and worthy clergyman, to wit, the Letter-writer, it was not the spirit shewn by the dissenters only, but by the dissenters and others, that gave the good Archbishop his fears, that the church might be considerably damaged, in case the schism-bill should be repealed.

Now who were these others? evidently members of the established church;—some of those false brethren, it is like, among whom poor Sacheverel had been in perils some few years before. In one word, a set of honest and eminent laymen and divines, who, perfectly sensible to what an alarming crisis the divinity of the late reign had brought the protestaut succession, and with it the civil and religious liberties of this country, set themselves to open the eyes of the deluded people, and to give them juster sentiments of the christian religion, in opposition to the extravagant notions of hierarchical power, vested in the governors of the established church, with which they had been besotted.

Among the foremost of these was Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, bishop of Bangor; who not only "held the *occasional* and *schism* acts to "be persecuting laws, which were not to be "justified by the plea of self-defence and self-"preservation, any more than the persecution "of the christians by the heathens, or the po-"pish inquisition," but likewise attacked the *corporation* and *test* acts, by shewing at large, "the unreasonableness and ill policy of impo-"sing religious tests, as a qualification for ci-"vil and military employments, as abridging "men of their natural rights, depriving the "state of the service of many of its best sub-"jects, and exposing its most sacred instituti-"ons and ordinances, to be abused by profane "and irreligious persons." To which he added, that, "as to the power of which some "clergymen appeared so fond and so jealous,

" he owned that the desire of power and riches
" is natural to all men; but that he had learned
" both from reason and the gospel, that this
" desire must keep within due bounds, and
" not entrench upon the rights and liberties
" of our fellow-creatures and countrymen."

An eulogist of Archbishop Wake, from whom I take the foregoing particulars, * observes, that "this was *flying full in the face* of the "Archbishop," who, we are to suppose, was of contrary sentiments, and who it seems had been highly provoked before, by bishop Hoadly's sermon on *The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ*, in which he had made it appear, that to impose laws upon the subjects of this kingdom, relating to matters of salvation, which Christ had not mentioned, was encroaching upon his legislative authority, and utterly unwarrantable.

The Archbishop, sufficiently irritated by these doings, would no doubt have exercised ecclesiastical discipline upon this *false brother*, had the times been favourable, and had not the patriots of those days found it necessary to cherish these liberal and christian principles, in order to oppose the rebellious spirit of those times, fomented by the narrow, tyrannical system of high-church bigots, and adherents of the Stuart-race, on the presumption of a *divine right* of succession, and the infallibility of the doctrines of the church, among which they reckoned passive obedience, and non-resistance.

His Grace, being prevented by these cir-

* Biog. Brit. Wake, Rem. [L].

cumstances from mortifying these heretics at home, determined to take some satisfaction of them, by making known his griefs to the protestants abroad; which he did in a letter to the superintendant of the church of Zurich in Switzerland, wherein he gives a free vent to his indignation, as may be seen in a copy of the letter itself exhibited in the margin, by way of supplement to the authentic copies of the correspondence of this eminent prelate, with which Dr. Maclaine hath favoured the public.*

* Ecclesia Anglicana divisionibus perrupta est et schismatibus divisa. Tot ac tam variis Hominum ab ipsius sacris sese segregantium generibus confusa, ut nullis propriis nominibus vel ipsi se distinguere valeant vel aliis describere. Atque utinam etiam hoc ultimum nobis querelæ argumentum esset! Sed impleri oportet quæcumque spiritus Dei olim futura prædixit; adeo et inter nos ipsos exsurrexerunt viri loquentes perversa. Et quid dico, viri? Immo PASTORES, EPISCOPI ipsi manibus Ecclesiam diruunt, in quâ ministrant; ad cujus doctrinam, pluries subscripsere; quibus defensio Ecclesiæ commissa, quorum munus est invigilare contra hostes ejus, eosque prò meritis, redarguere, compescere, punire. Etiam hi illius Ecclesiæ auctoritatem labefactare nituntur, pro quâ non tantum certare, verum, si res ita postularet, etiam mori debuerint. Quæ sint horum Novatorum placita ex duobus nuperis scriptis Gallico sermone libellis aliquatenus discernere valeatis. Uno hic verbo dixisse sufficiat, his hominibus omnes Fidei Confessiones, omnes Articulorum subscriptiones animitus displicere. Velle eos libertatem, seu verius licentiam omnibus concedi quæcunque libuerit non tantum credendi, sed dicendi, scribendi, prædicandi, etiam si Gratia Spiritus sancti, Christi Divinitas, alia omnia religionis nostræ principia maxime fundamentali exinde forent evertenda. Quis hæc Christianus, de hominibus, nomine saltem, Christianis, dici non obstupescat! Quis non doleat hujusmodi λυκους βαρεις non tantum non ab Ovili longe arceri, verum etiam intra ipsa ecclesiæ pomœria recipi? ad honores, ad officia, ad gubernacula ejus admitti? At vero ita se res habet. Dum ad ea quæ sunt hujus seculi, unice respicimus, prorsum obliviscimur eorum quæ ad alterum spectant. Et quia horum hominum tolerantiâ et promotione quidam se populi favorem conciliaturos sperant, quibus id unice cordi, ut in suis sese dignitatibus et potentia

In this letter, his Grace accuses certain bishops and pastors of the church of England, of

tueantur, parum curant quid de Ecclesiâ, de fide, de religione, de ipso denique Jesu Christo, ejusque veritate eveniat. Ignoscas, vir spectatissime, si, dum justo animi dolori indulgeam, indignationem meam contra hosce religionis nostræ inimicos, paulo asperius quam pro more meo expresserim. Reum me putarem proditæ fidei, si non his hæreticis, quavis occasione oblatâ, anathema dixerim.——

I transcribe this from the first volume of a collection of Tracts, by the late John Trenchard, Esq. and Thomas Gordon, Esq. the latter of whom hath made some shrewd remarks upon it, and hath contrasted some particulars in it, with his Grace's sentiments, or rather perhaps expressions, in his *Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the church of England*, and in his Sermon, Nov. 5, 1699, in which he hath spoken with sufficient clearness in favour of *every man's right of judging for himself, in matters of faith*, alledging, in the *Defence*, that, "if a man be evidently convinced, upon the best enquiry he can make, that his particular belief is founded upon the "word of God, and that of the church is not, he is obliged to support "and adhere to his own belief, in opposition to that of the church:" and in his Sermon, "that the right of examining what is proposed to "us in matters of religion is not any special privilege of the pastors "or governors of the church, but is the common right and duty of "all christians whatsoever." Gordon, having got the Archbishop to this advantage, fails not to make use of it in exposing his inconsistency, in so bitterly reviling bishop Hoadly and his partizans, for the same doctrine which he himself had taught some years before. The compiler of Archbishop Wake's article in the *Biographia Britannica* is of opinion, that Gordon had ill success in forming this contrast, and inferring from it a change in the Archbishop's principles, "for want of distinguishing between a licentious and malevolent, and a liberal, ingenuous inquiry." So that it seems, according to this biographer, the inquiry asserted and recommended by bishop Hoadly was of the *licentious, malevolent* kind, and that by bishop Wake of the *liberal, ingenuous* sort. If one were to ask him, how so? and his masters would let him speak out, the upshot would be, that the *licentious, malevolent* inquiry would always end in depreciating church authority, and the *liberal, ingenuous* one always in submitting to it. And this reminds me of another distinction, of our ingenuous biographer. In the year 1721, Archbishop Wake joined the Earl of Nottingham in preparing and bringing into parliament a

demolishing the church with their own hands; and, instead of watching over her, confuting,

bill, enacting a new teſt againſt the Arian hereſy. Whiſton, in a letter he wrote to his Grace on this occaſion, called this an attempt to introduce an holy inquiſition into the church of England, and upbraided his Grace, with changing his note in promoting an act for puniſhing the defenders of certain opinions, before thoſe opinions were examined, in 1721, which opinions he had conſented, in 1712, ought to be examined before they were condemned. Memoirs, 1749, p. 257. "The anſwer to this, ſays the biographer, is very obvious, "viz. the increaſe of theſe heretical doctrines ſince 1712, made in "his Grace's opinion, ſharper ways of proceeding againſt them "proper in 1721."—But what had the increaſe of thoſe opinions to do with the puniſhment of them, ſince, for want of examination, it was equally uncertain in 1721 as in 1712, whether they were true or falſe? The ſtupidity of theſe ſayings of the archbiſhop's is not half ſo lamentable as the partiality of them. There is nothing more detrimental to the intereſts of truth and liberty, than this ſilly deference to great names in a voluminous hiſtorical work, from which poſterity is to take examples of right and wrong, in matters of the utmoſt importance. Anthony Wood was a notorious tranſgreſſor this way; but the man was known, and the world ſeaſonably apprized to whom, for what reaſons, and from what prejudices, his encomiums and his abuſes were reſpectively directed. In this *Biographia* the ſame ſpirit prevails in too many inſtances, with this aggravation, that you have no opportunity of inquiring into the principles, views, and connexions of the nameleſs retailer. By good luck, however, that happens not to be the caſe with reſpect to the compiler of archbiſhop Wake's article in this work. He has furniſhed materials himſelf, whereby to aſcertain his identity. At page 104, of the Supplement to the Biographia, and in the laſt remark upon the article HOLT [SIR JOHN], the Biographer informs us, that he was the perſon who publiſhed a certain letter from Sir Thomas Hanmer to Dr. Joſeph Smith, the caſtration of which from the *Biographia Brittannica* he aſcribes, *ſans facon*, to the procurement of a right reverend prelate, whoſe name he there mentions. The ſignature at the foot of Sir John Holt's Article is the Letter P; the ſame which is at the end of Archbiſhop Wake's article: a plain proof that both articles were drawn up by the ſame hand; even by the author of a quarto pamphlet, publiſhed in 1763, exhibiting an authentic copy of the caſtrated letter above mentioned, with a number of anecdotes there-

restraining and punishing her adversaries, of endeavouring to weaken and undermine her authority, for which they not only ought to contend, but, even if need were, to lay down their lives.—He calls them innovators, and says, they are disaffected to all confessions of

unto belonging. In that pamphlet the author gives himself the humiliating title of *a poor penitent thief*. The circumstance which gives occasion to that signature, is remembered by more than the Bishop of Bristol. And though no man has a right to call in question the sincerity of another man's penitence, or to upbraid him with the fault for which he expresses it, yet, it is well known, that when one, in that predicament, sets himself up for an evidence, the adverse party will of course bring former convictions in abatement of his competency and credibility, and that exceptions of that kind have been admitted before the most solemn tribunals. Our Biographer, in the pamphlet of 1763, once more makes the *amende honorable*, anent the pilfering of Sir Thomas Hanmer's Letter, and dexterously enough exculpates himself, by throwing the guilt upon *The Accessary before the Fact*: leaving us however to conclude, that he himself was too apt to be biassed by undue influence. We object therefore to Mr. P's testimony on the behalf of Archbishop Wake, the rather because we find him at his castrating tricks again in that very volume, in the article BUTLER [JOSEPH], *Supplement*, p. 20, by sinking upon us, in his account of Bishop Butler's works, a remarkable charge, published in 1752. We learn from his marginal references annexed to that article, that he had several particulars communicated to him by the late most reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, who supplied him with the account he gives of his Grace's intimate connexions with Bishop Butler. Shall we say that his Grace was ignorant that such a charge was extant? or shall we suppose there might be here likewise an *Accessary before the Fact?* To be plain, there is reason to believe that our Biographer had some of his materials for the *Article*, WAKE [WILLIAM], from Lambeth house, and might, if his informers had so pleased, have fairly told us the whole truth concerning the Sorbonne correspondence, without putting the author of the Confessional to the trouble of drawing it from the Letter-writer and Dr. Maclaine, by a tedious distillation.

faith and subscriptions to articles.—That they are for having liberty granted to all, not only to believe, but likewise to speak, write, preach whatsoever they please, even though the grace of the Holy Spirit, the divinity of Christ, and every other principle of our religion were thereby to be overturned.—He calls them *grievous wolves*, which are not only not driven from the sheepfold, but are entertained within the very enclosures of the church. This gives him an opportunity of falling foul upon the statesmen of that time, who, thinking to ingratiate themselves with the people by the toleration and promotion of such men, and being concerned for nothing but the preservation of their own dignity and power, have no manner of concern what becomes of the church, of the faith, of religion, or, in a word, of Jesus Christ himself. And he concludes with assuring his correspondent, "that he should think "himself guilty of betraying the faith, if he "did not, upon every occasion given, pro-"nounce anathema against these heretics."

Such anathema however never was pronounced by his Grace against these heretics, that we know of. It would be trifling contemptibly to say, that no occasion was ever offered for it; since, if his Grace's representation is true, occasions for such denunciations must have occurred every day.*

* It seems, this wicked race of *church demolishers* did not expire with Bishop Hoadly. The vigilant Dr. Balguy hath discovered a pernicious remnant of them, who are very proper objects of deprivation. "A class of men, to whom the plea of compassion,"

I dare say, if Dr. Maclaine had been aware of this part of his Grace's correspondence with foreign protestants, he would once more have applied to his friend, the learned and worthy

which he is willing to allow, in some cases, will not extend; those he means, "who without any pretence to inspiration, live in open "war with the national church, with that very church of which "they profess themselves ministers, and whose wages they continue "to take, though in actual service against her." *Sermon, February* 12, 1769. p. 20. Who does not see in this description, the features of Bishop Hoadly, as as they were painted by the Committee of Convocation, in 1717? who, in their language, "having first "rendered odious her acts of uniformity, and articles of reli-"ligion, which were her main fence and security, reduced the "church to the deplorable state of having no governors, no censures "over the conduct of men in matters of religion, and excluding "the temporal powers from any right to encourage true religion, "or to discourage the contrary." *Report*, p. 12, 13. And thus likewise Archbishop Wake describes him and his party. "Bishops "and pastors, who demolished the church with their own hands, "the very church in which they minister." Indeed neither the Committee nor Archbishop Wake touch upon the aggravation of the Bishop of Bangor's taking the church's wages. And it had been as well if Dr. Balguy had not mentioned it. Because, if I remember right, the book of *Alliance*, on which the Doctor confers so just an encomium in the only marginal note in his sermon, quite spoils the pretty antithesis between *wages* and *service*, by informing us, that it is the *state*, and not the *church*, that pays these miscreants their wages. "Whether," continues Dr. Balguy, "this conduct "proceed from a dislike to all establishments, or from a desire of "erecting a new one on the ruins of that which subsists at present, "in either case, it is contrary to the most evident principles of jus-"tice and honour." *Sermon*, p. 20. This is decisive, and strikes much deeper than even the Committee above mentioned ventured to go, after a pretty long specification of the Bishop of Bangor's crimes. "How his Lordship, say they, can, consistently with "these opinions, make good his solemn promise, made at his con-"secration, to be ready, &c. and how he can exercise the high "office intrusted to him in the church; or convey holy orders to "others, are difficulties which himself only can resolve." Report, p. 9. But Dr. Balguy, we see, can resolve difficulties of

clergyman, for a reason why his Grace chose thus to complain of and accuse his brethren to the presbyterian church of Zurich, where they had no opportunity of answering for themselves, and to which they were not answerable, if an opportunity had offered, rather than exercise his anathemas upon them at home, in consequence of his presiding in the church which they thus grievously damaged? Did this underhand scolding in a foreign country, and among non-episcopal sectaries, become the prelate of the first see in England, who believed that "the prerogatives of an Archbishop of "Canterbury are greater than those of all the "Archbishops in France?"* Did he believe this conduct would do him any honour when it came to be known in Great Britain; or did he not rather hope it would never enter into the heads

the very same sort, upon more slender data. However, the Committee men had a great mind to know how the Bishop would get over these difficulties; and therefore "humbly hoped his Grace "and their Lordships would think it proper to call for the explication." Which, however, they never did, to the great grief of the committee men, and of many an honest hearty churchman in succeeding times, who would have been right glad to have seen this strange bishop stripped of his lawn. But the views of puny mortals are extremely short. How much better has it been for the church that he was spared? Since, had he been deprived in those early days, he would not have had the A— d——ry of W——ch——r to dispose of.

——— *Have you eyes?*
Could you on THIS *fair mountain leave to feed,*
And batten on this moore? ——— *What judgment,*
Would step from THIS *to this?*
A thing that is not twentieth part the tythe
Of your precedent Lord.

* Authentic Copies, No. X.

of the pastors of Zurich, to reckon the communication of his Grace's griefs, among the benefits conferred upon their church?*

And now, what can be the great occasion of offence given by the author of the Confessional to Dr. Maclaine? wherein is either Mosheim to blame for saying, (if he did say it) that Archbishop Wake *formed a project of peace and union between the English and Gallican churches*, or the author of the Confessional in blaming the Archbishop in the terms he did for entertaining such a project?

Dr. Maclaine indeed is not pleased that the author of the Confessional should say, that the doctor *seemed* [in a note upon the passage of Mosheim] *not only to acknowledge the truth of this particular fact, but likewise to give it the sanction of his approbation;* whereas Dr. Maclaine insists that "the general observation he "made, drawn from Dr. Wake's known zeal "for the protestant religion, was designed, "not to confirm that assertion, but rather to "insinuate his disbelief of it." And he says, "If the author of the Confessional had given "a little more attention to this, he could not "have represented the doctor as confirming "the fact alledged by Mosheim, much less as "giving it, what the said author is pleased to "call, the sanction of his approbation."†

Now Dr. Maclaine begins his note with say-

* The Archbishop's letter was published in a little piece, intituled *Oratio Historica de Beneficiis in Ecclesiam* Tigurinam *collatis.*

† Supplement, p. 21.

ing, that " Archbishop Wake certainly cor-
" responded with some learned and moderate
" Frenchmen, on this subject; particularly
" with Du Pin the ecclesiastical historian."
And this he said without the slightest intima-
tion, that the Archbishop did not begin the
correspondence. Might he not then very well
seem to confirm the fact, alledged by Mosheim,
thus far at least?—But the doctor goes still
farther. He says " the Archbishop, no doubt
" when he assisted Courayer in his defence of
" the validity of the English ordinations,—
" had it in his view to remove certain ground-
" less prejudices, which while they subsisted
" amongst roman catholics, could not but de-
" feat all projects of peace and union between
" the English and Gallican churches.

Take this along with the actual correspon-
dence which followed between the Archbishop
and the moderate Frenchmen; and how can
you otherwise understand it, than that, in the
views of the Archbishop, this removal of pre-
judices was a preparatory step towards an union
with the Gallican church.

" But Dr. Maclaine was so far from appro-
" ving the conditions of the union mentioned
" by Mosheim, that he did not believe them."
Why did not the Doctor then express his un-
belief? is it implied in what he *does* express,
viz. that " The interest of the protestant reli-
" gion could not be in safer hands than Arch-
" bishop Wake's?" is it implied in the suppo-
sition that "so able a defender of the protes-
" tant cause, could not form any project of
" peace and union with a roman catholic

" church, the terms of which would have re-
" flected on his character as a negotiator?"

It is allowed, in the beginning of the note, that Archbishop Wake actually corresponded upon the subject with the Gallican divines. It is allowed, that in certain transactions *previous* to this correspondence, he *had it in his view, to remove certain prejudices, which, unremoved, would defeat all projects of peace and union between the two churches.* And it is concluded from Archbishop Wake's abilities and success in defending protestantism, that *the interests of the protestant religion could not be in safer hands.* Thus far surely Dr. Maclaine does not *seem* to *disapprove* of the negotiation. And the supposition, *that the Archbishop would come into no terms which would reflect on his character as a negotiator*, taken along with what goes before, *seems* to convey the idea of something the very reverse, either of a disbelief, or disapprobation, of the terms mentioned in the text.

I am the more satisfied, that the author of *The Confessional* is sufficiently justifiable in his interpretation of Dr. Maclaine's note, in that Dr. Maclaine himself, in this very Supplement,* *seems* to think that "Dr. Wake could not, " upon any principles of christianity, reason, " or charity, have refused to hear the propo-" sals, terms, and sentiments of the Sorbonne " Doctors, who discovered an inclination to " unite with his church."

* Page 24.

But if christianity, reason, and charity required this, and if, as Dr. Maclaine thinks, "the Archbishop was greatly in the right to "enter into this correspondence," the reason must be (I mean that reason in which christianity and charity had any thing to do) that such union would be edifying, christian, reasonable, and charitable. And if so, would it not be christian, reasonable, and charitable, that, in order to accomplish such union, concessions should be mutually made on either side? This indeed is not only a natural, but a necessary consequence of the Doctor's opinion of the Archbishop's obligation to hear the proposals, terms, and sentiments of the Sorbonne Doctors, and of the rightness of his entering into a correspondence with them on the subject. The Doctor indeed puts the *obligation* and the *rightness* upon this, that "the Sor- "bonnists discovered an inclination to unite "with the Archbishop's church."—But still it was to unite upon proposals and terms; otherwise the inclination discovered must have been an inclination to come over to the church of England, without any proposals or terms whatsoever, which would have put the Archbishop's obligation to hear, and the rightness of entering into a correspondence with them, upon a very different footing. But I dare say Dr. Maclaine himself will allow that this was not the case.

And upon these considerations, I, for my part, cannot but suppose that Dr. Maclaine did not think the Archbishop so very liable to censure, for acceding to the condition mentioned

by Mosheim, till he had been led to reflect on the consequences of it. And I am the more confirmed in that supposition, by what Dr. Maclaine himself observes in his Supplement, namely, that "he only said, there was a cor- "respondence on the subject, without speaking "a syllable of the unpleasing condition."*

The suppositions of the author of *The Confessional*, founded on the suspicious, &c. in Mr. Beauvoir's Letter, and the handsome mention of Du Pin, may be given up, as of no more consequence. They have done their errand. They have forced into day-light, proofs that are more to be depended upon; and, thanks to the publisher of the *Supplement* and the *Authentic Copies*, Dr. Maclaine will have no longer occasion to say, "These are all "the proofs which the author of *The Confes-* "*sional* has to give of the probability, that "the Archbishop was the first mover of this "affair."

The author of *The Confessional* had said, that "it was, at the best, officious and pre- "sumptuous in Dr. Wake, to enter into a ne- "gotiation of this nature, without authority "from the church, or the government."†

To this Dr. Maclaine replies: "But the "truth is, he entered into no negotiation or "treaty on this head; he considered the letters "that were written on both sides, as a perso- "nal correspondence between individuals, "which could not commence a negotiation

* Page 21, 22. † Preface, p. lxxxv.

"until they had received the proper powers "from their respective sovereigns."*

Dr. Maclaine will be pleased to recollect, if the author of *The Confessional* used the word *negotiation* improperly on this occasion, who it was that led him into the impropriety, by first speaking of Dr. Wake under the character of a negotiator? And if he did not come up to that character in his transactions, or his correspondence concerning an union with the Gallican church, I will venture to say, it was none of his fault. It now appears that the Gallican churchmen would not negotiate with him. His overture of corresponding with the cardinal Archbishop of Paris in their proper and respective characters was the overture of a formal negotiation, which it is evident was to be carried on between them to a certain point, when it would be time to lay it before their respective sovereigns.† But to this, the Archbishop never could bring the cardinal; and was therefore obliged to go on, corresponding with these individuals, for mere amusement, we must suppose, without any other end or object.

And yet in the very next sentence we are told, "that Dr. Maclaine thinks the Archbi- "shop was greatly in the right to enter into "this correspondence, as it seemed very likely, "in the then circumstances of the Gallican "church, to serve the protestant interest, and "the cause of the reformation."

What! all this *public good* from "a personal "correspondence between individuals;", and

* Supplement, p. 24. † Authentic copies, No. III.

without any endeavour on the part of the Archbishop to make it a public transaction! A correspondence, while it was carried on, studiously concealed, as much as might be, from every individual of this protestant island! It would be a curiosity to know how, or in what way, the protestant interest, or the cause of the reformation, could be served, while the correspondence remained in this state of obscurity; and yet in this state it must continue, on the peril of Archbishop Wake's being found in a negotiation for an union of the English and Gallican churches.

Dr. Maclaine says, "No such thing appears "in the Archbishop's letters, as the condition "imputed to him by Mosheim, namely, that "*each of the two churches should retain the* "*greatest part of their respective and peculiar* "*doctrines.*"

I am in some doubt, as I said above, whether it is Mosheim or Dr. Maclaine that imputes this condition to the Archbishop. Be that as it may, I should think that the Archbishop's compromise in the affair of transubstantiation is a pretty strong instance of his Grace's willingness to accept the condition, not to mention other instances already remarked in these papers. Let the reader judge.

The author of *The Confessional* had said, that "the Archbishop might have maintained "the justice and orthodoxy of every individual article of the church of England, and "yet have given up some of them for the sake "of peace."*

* Preface, p. lxxvix.

" But, says Dr. Maclaine, the Archbishop " expressly declares in his letters, that he " would give up none of them."

If he did, his Grace was disposed, in my opinion (upon second thoughts perhaps), to be better than his word. I have always thought *The no-primacy of the Pope in the reformed church of England*, to be a just and orthodox doctrine of that church; yet this seems to be given up with no great difficulty. But indeed I do not know what the author of *The Confessional* might have said to this, had he seen the correspondence before he made this remark. For in the Archbishop's letter to Du Pin, his Grace appears to come so very near to his correspondent, in what he calls *Dogmata*, in the *government of the church*, and in *fundamentals*, whether of *doctrine* or *discipline*, that it should seem very little was to be given up on either side. Whether indeed the good people of England would have acquiesced in the idea the good prelate gave Du Pin of their established church, is what I very much question: but upon the footing of this representation, it is no wonder they should *stare* at the seeming practicability of uniting the protestant church of England with the popish Gallican church.

The learned Doctor's question, whether the reflexion of the author of *The Confessional*, viz. that, " without some concessions on the part " of the Archbishop, the treaty could not have " gone a step farther," would hold in theory, he may be left to discuss at his leisure. For I cannot find, that the said author has given the remotest intimation of his belief, that the

Archbishop's project related only to a theoretic treaty. And indeed I think myself, that it appears from the correspondence sufficiently, that this was by no means the case.

The worthy Doctor seems to be a little too much elated, on the author of *The Confessional* inferring, from the circumstance, that "the "letters were received at Rome, as so many "trophies gained from the enemies of the "church;" that the Archbishop must have made some concessions: and asks, "Could no-"thing but concessions from the Archbishop "make the court of Rome consider them in "that light? would they not think it a great "triumph, that they had obliged Du Pin's "party to give up the letters, as a token of "their submission, and defeated the Archbi-"shop's design of engaging the Gallican "church to assert its liberty, by throwing off "the papal yoke? If Dr. Wake made conces-"sions, where are they? And if these were "the trophies, why did not the partisans of "Rome publish authentic copies of them to "the world? Did the author of *The Confes-"sional* ever hear of a victorious general, who "carefully hid under ground the standards he "had taken from the enemy?"

To these interrogatories I answer, on the part of the author who is thus insulted, that the metaphor of *trophies* is not his, but cited from the biographer and eulogist of the Archbishop, who alone must be answerable for the impropriety of the figure, if there is any in it. According to the biographer, the letters were the trophies, and the contents of them the mat-

ter of triumph, whatever it was. The letters could not be tokens of submission, for they were extorted from Girardin by compulsion. "The Gallican church, according to Archbi- "shop Wake himself, when the Pope used his "authority ever so little contrary to their good "liking, protested against it, appealed to a "general council, and then minded him as lit- "tle as the English could do."* So that the Archbishop's allowing his holiness a *primacy of place and honour*, would seem to the court of Rome, a full balance for any design his Grace might have of engaging the Gallican church to assert its liberty, by throwing off the Papal yoke. This liberty the Gallican church always asserted. And therefore the defeat of the Archbishop's design could not be half so much matter of triumph to the court of Rome, as the concession of an universal primacy would be: which, with other concessions, were in those letters of the Archbishop, which Girardin was obliged to give up. And authentic copies of them were no doubt sufficiently published for the purpose of the court of Rome. And lastly, the letters were not hidden under ground by the *victorious General*, who was the Abbè Du Bois. The victory was obtained, and the standards taken, in France; and were sent by the *victorious General* to Rome, the head-quarters of the popish church; and what rejoicings they occasioned there, neither Dr. Maclaine nor I can tell. Du Bois, it seems, obtained a cardinal's hat for his generalship.

* Authentic copies, No. IX.

And for any thing Dr. Maclaine hath said, or can say, the chief merit of his services appears to have been, his exposing the concessions of a learned english prelate to the contemplation of the Pope, who perhaps was never apprized, that the church of Rome and the church of England were so nearly related, before he saw it in this correspondence. And this, without having recourse to precarious conjectures, will sufficiently account for the compliments paid to his Grace's catholic benevolence.

I have now done with my remarks on this correspondence, which have run out to a much greater length than I at first intended. But of the many crimes charged upon the author of *The Confessional*, that of high treason against Archbishop Wake appearing to have made the most general impression, and to have occasioned the loudest clamour, I was willing for my own satisfaction, as well as in justice to an injured author, to examine it to the bottom, for which a fairer occasion could not be offered (unless the whole correspondence had been published) than the publication of these authentic copies, in the learned Dr. Maclaine's Supplement to his translation of Dr. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

The room this examination hath taken up obliges me to apologize to the Letter-writer for postponing for the present my remarks on the remaining part of his first letter; assuring him however that, at a proper time, he shall not be forgot.

The same consideration must be my excuse for omitting, at this time, some remarks which

have occurred in running over the respectable Dr. Maclaine's second Appendix in this Supplement. A future occasion will be taken to pay a proper regard to it. The subject is interesting and curious, and may be debated with less regret than a question, the elucidation of which is perpetually exhibiting so many striking and mortifying instances of the weakness and wavering of so great a man (in other respects) as Archbishop Wake. But (to borrow Dr. Maclaine's motto) *Magis amica veritas.* Where the interests of the protestant religion are concerned, the writer of these papers hath learned from St. Paul, Ουδενα ειδεναι κατα σαρκα.

By way of closing the subject, I would humbly recommend it to Dr. Maclaine, with all due deference to his own sagacity, to be extremely cautious how he takes the characters of the great churchmen of this country, whether living or dead, from clergymen of a certain stamp, however learned or worthy in other matters. Most men are apt to be warped either by their own early prejudices, or by interesting connexions in their commerce with the world, but more particularly in the state of *Aspirants.*

This hint is suggested to me, not only by the intelligence communicated to the Doctor by one learned and worthy clergyman, concerning a particular circumstance in Archbishop Wake's history, but likewise by a more general character of the said Archbishop, adopted by Dr. Maclaine from another learned and worthy divine, who, in the year 1743, published (in the Doctor's account) "a noble edition, "and a very elegant and judicious, continu-

"lation, of bishop GODWIN's *Commentarius "de Præsulibus Angliæ."**

This learned and worthy divine had his favourite characters, and his characters which were not favourites. His account of Archbishop Wake shews the first; and of the second sort, take the following instance.

About the year 1706, a project was formed to episcopize the church of Prussia, according to the model of the church of England, with respect to government, worship, and discipline.

The chief movers in this business on the side of Prussia, were the Doctors *Grabe*, *Jablonski*, and *Orsini*, with the authority and countenance, as is said, of *Frederic* their Sovereign.

To forward this scheme, application was made to Archbishop Tenison for his concurrence, both by writing and in personal conference, by the Prussian envoys, Spanheim and Bonet. Of this transaction a long account was drawn up by Dr. Richardson, intended to be inserted under Archbishop Tenison's article, in his continuation of Godwin; wherein the Archbishop's conduct in this negotiation *(absit invidia verbo)* was set forth at some length.

After giving an account, that his Prussian Majesty had earnestly requested, by his envoys above-mentioned, of the Archbishop, that certain of the Prussian clergy, selected for that purpose, might receive episcopal consecration, according to the rites of the church of England, the narrative goes on as follows:

* Supplement, p. 39.

Verum cum nimis cunctanter hæc res procederet, ejusdem regis jussu, *Ursinus*, inter Borussiæ theologos princeps, literis ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem datis anno MDCCVI, iterum iterumque efflagitavit, ut Borussorum necessitatibus, hac in parte, succurreret Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ pietas. Archiepiscopus, colloquio habito, per nuncium respondit, se quidem quæ postulaverat, libenter facturum, quantum in se erat, neque honestis Borussorum desideriis defuturum; verum in re tanti momenti amplius deliberandum censuit, ut Reginæ ipsius et eorum qui apud ipsam gratia valebant maxime, voluntate prius explorata et perspecta, quid effici poterat intelligeret; tum demum se ubi primum commode potuerit, literis significaturum; literas hasce diu sane et frustra expectarunt Borussi: quænam vero intercesserint impedimenta scire non datur, nihil certe effectum videtur.

These particulars are taken from the article GRABE [JOHN ERNEST,] Rem. [L] in the Supplement to the *Biographia Britannica*. And we thus far see nothing in them which tends to impeach Archbishop Tenison's character. The consecrating foreign bishops by our forms, and by the hands of english bishops, was a matter of great delicacy. It would certainly require a royal licence; and that might not be readily obtained, for reasons of different kinds. The Archbishop was therefore prudent in putting off the matter, till he had informed himself of the Queen's pleasure, and the sense of her counsellors. The only thing that appears blameable in his Grace was, his sending no answer

to Orsini's Letter; and even that might be accounted for, without any imputation upon his Grace's attention to the affair, or his politeness; upon the supposition, that he had no answer to send which would not have given them pain. And accordingly we see, Dr. Richardson neither attempted to account for his Grace's silence, nor pretended to know what impediments prevented the design from taking that effect.

Thus far upon the supposition, that these facts relating to Archbishop Tenison were true.

Archbishop Tenison happened to be a more moderate man in his principles than some of his successors; one of whom contemplating with much regret, the loss of so glorious an opportunity of *amplyfying the dignity of the church of England*, thought proper to animadvert on the conduct of Archbishop Tenison, in a manner, of which the following account is given by Dr. Grabe's Biographer, our old friend Mr. P.

" Thus the account of this projected union " stood in the first copies. But Bishop Potter " who was the principal encourager of this edi- " tion of Godwin, observing some circum- " stances in it not carefully enough related, " prevailed with the learned editor to cancel " the sheet, and print another in its stead, in " which the story is much shortened, as fol- " lows :

" Restabat tamen ecclesiæ reformatæ una " triumphi materies, quam temporis opportu- " nitas obtulit, quam tamen Archiepiscopus " noster, *præ nimia cunctatione, timiditate,*

" *vel abundanti et intempestiva, cautela, neg-*
" *lexit.* Intelligo episcoporum in Borussia
" ordinationem, (juxta ecclesiæ anglicanæ
" exemplar, quam Rex Boruss. religionis re-
" formatæ, juxta ac literatorum fautor, per
" regna sua celebrari voluit ; et ea de causa
" virum tum eruditione, tum pietate eximium,
" D. Ernestum Grabe in Angliam transmisit,
" in episcopum, juxta ritus ecclesiæ angli-
" canæ, ordinandum. Verum archiepiscopus,
" *adeo non avide occasionem oblatam arripuit,*
" *ut frigide et oscitanter rem momenti gravis-*
" *simi curaret, et difficultatibus et causatio-*
" *nibus interjectis, ita in longum protraxit,*
" *ut aliquando tandem irrita prorsus interci-*
" *deret.*"

" And thus, I suppose, stands the account of this affair in this *noble* edition of Godwin to this hour, with as much disgrace to good Dr. Tenison, as party prejudice, irritated by the miscarriage of a hopeful high church scheme, could contrive to load him.

Would any one now believe, that Orsini never wrote any such letter as is mentioned in the first account, to Archbishop Tenison ?—that the project was formed by a few intemperate zealots only, and unsupported by the body of the clergy of the Prussian church in general ?—and that a liturgy in the German language was actually prepared for the use of the Prussian church, which their clergy refused to accept ?

Yet this is the information we have from the Biographer ; and the last fact, upon the joint

testimony of the two Archbishops, Potter and Secker.

And now I would beg Dr. Maclaine's attention to the following reflections.

1. Dr. Wake was one whose notions of church authority perfectly coincided with those of Archbishop Potter. The latter was the great patron of this edition of Godwin's Commentary, and the continuation of it. If the Biographer may be credited, Archbishop Potter prevailed to have this degrading character of Archbishop Tenison inserted in the continuation, on the pretence that some circumstances in a former account *were not carefully enough related.* I would not willingly suppose that his Grace knew, that Orsini's letter to Archbishop Tenison was a non-entity; as certainly as he knew that the main body of the Prussian clergy were averse to a liturgy. I will only put the question, whether it is not possible that the same prejudices, which operated so violently to the disparagement of Dr. Tenison, might have some share in the favourable character of Dr. Wake, quoted at the end of Dr. Maclaine's third appendix.*

2. The Biographer above quoted, whose authority I make use of on this occasion, says, that "Dr. Tenison behaved with great pru-" dence" [in paying so little regard to the ap-

* That character is in these words: *Nemo uspiam ecclesiæ Romanæ* et *Anglicanæ statum penitius cognitum et exploratum habuit; et proinde in disputandi arenam prodiit tum ad oppugnandum, tum ad propugnandum, instructissimus.* I dare say, the learned editor of Godwin, when he wrote this, had never seen these letters now published by Dr. Maclaine.

plication of the Prussians] " under a just ap-
" prehension, that the project was formed by
" a few intemperate zealots only, and unsup-
" ported by the body of the Prussian clergy."
An honest and a true remark? But it is not the way of our Mr. P. to leave a whig-character upon so fair a footing; at least without something to balance it in the tory scale. Accordingly he refers us to the margin, where we read as follows: *A like defect was observed by Archbishop Wake, in a project offered to him, of an union between the churches of France and England.* Which *likeness* might possibly have passed with some people, if these *Authentic Copies* had never appeared. But where is the *likeness*, between a correspondence which was never begun, and a correspondence, authentic copies of which are in our hands? how could Archbishop Wake observe a like defect in his treaty, when he always understood the Archbishop of Paris to be, on the part of the Gallican church, at the head of it? did he take Du Pin, Girardin, and the doctors of the Sorbonne, for *a few intemperate zealots?** and did he treat them with the like prudence and caution that Dr. Tenison observed towards Grabe, Jablonski, &c. in the other case.

3. "JABLONSKI," as the Biographer informs us, " took episcopal orders from the only two
" remaining old Bohemian bishops; he after-

* Dr. Du Pin *is a gentleman by whose labours I have profited these many years, And I do really admire how it is possible for one man to publish so much, and yet so correctly, as he hath generally done.* Archbishop Wake apud Dr. Maclaine's Supplement, p. 24.

" wards ordained Count Zinzendorf a bishop, " and wrote to Dr. Grabe and Dr. Smallridge, " about getting the episcopal order establish- " ed in Prussia." I suppose the Biographer might mean by taking episcopal orders, that Jablonski got himself made a bishop by these Bohemians, and then made another bishop, the same whose praise is in the churches of the Moravians. But, till the episcopal order was settled in Prussia, Jablonski was a bishop without a see. Archbishop Tenison was probably aware of the cause of Jablonski's alacrity in soliciting an episcopal establishment for Prussia, and that would put his Grace upon a prudent reserve when the matter came to be proposed to him. The Biographer calls Jablonski, *a protecting reconciler*, and so it should seem he continued to the end; and finding nothing could be made of an union with the church of England, he seems to have entertained a notion of uniting with the church of Rome, at least he applied to Archbishop Wake for his judgment on that subject, as appears by the Archbishop's answer to his questions in No. XXV of these *Authentic Copies*. I say this, upon the supposition that this is the same Dr. Jablonski who is mentioned as Dr. Grabe's coadjutor, in endeavouring to accommodate the Prussian church with the episcopal system of government. Dr. Maclaine calls him, Mr. Jablonski of Poland, meaning perhaps of Polish Prussia. Or perhaps they might be different men.

But if Archbishop Wake's correspondent was the same Jablonski mentioned in Grabe's arti-

cle in the *Biographia Britannica*, I agree with Dr. Maclaine, that the Archbishop's letter to him is more peculiarly worthy of attention, as his Grace must have known something of the man, from the report of his former conduct, and something too of the reasons why his immediate predecessor gave Jablonski's Prussian project no more encouragement. If the Biographer's account of him be just, one may safely rank Jablonski among the *temerarii* who proposed a league with the church of Rome. Had Jablonski thought of the proponents in that light, he would not have wanted to consult any one upon the two questions he sent to the Archbishop. Unless we may suppose he was encouraged to propose them by some report of what had passed between his Grace and the doctors of the Sorbonne, for, by the time that the Archbishop's answer bears date, that transaction had got wind.

Had Archbishop Tenison been applied to for answers to the two questions proposed to Dr. Wake, I verily believe he would have gone no farther than Archbishop Wake has done in the first paragraph of his letter. There he would have stopped, after having given an absolute negative to the first question: and there too should Archbishop Wake have stopped, especially after the experience he had gained in his intercourse with the Sorbonnists. Who they were that furnished Dr. Maclaine with this answer of the Archbishop to Jablonski, I pretend not to guess. But belike the thought, that, by sending it into the world through his hands, they themselves would risque nothing, and

that the Doctor's encomiums of it would be made at his own expence. For whatever Dr. Maclaine may have been told of the English clergy, the best and wisest and the soundest protestants among them would detest a *pye-bald* liturgy, in the use of which protestants and papists might join lovingly together in the same acts of religious worship; and would by no means think well of any of their brethren who should call an expedient of this kind, *a happy mixture of protestant zeal and christian charity.**

I think it a piece of Dr. Maclaine's good fortune, that the account he mentions (p. 111. of his Supplement) "of the measures that were "taken, and of the correspondence that was "carried on, in the years 1711, 1712, and "1713, for the introduction of the liturgy of "the church of England into the kingdom of "Prussia. and the electorate of Hanover," did not fall into his hands, till after his foregoing sheets were printed off. There is mention made of Archbishop Sharp's concern in this business, in the latter end of Dr. Richardson's castrated account of it in the *Biographia Britannica*. I omitted it above, that I might insert it here. It is as follows:

"..... Verum hæc cunctatio Borussi animos "adeo non fregit, ut etiam acrius erexerit et "confirmaverit. Itaque per legatos Archie-"piscopum *Eboracensem*,† *anno sc.* MDCCXI

* Supplement, p. 37.

† Should it not be *Archiepiscopo Eboracensi*?

" *cujus tum apud Aulicos authoritas magis* " *valere putabatur*, rei hujusce ecclesiasticæ " curam sedulo commendavit. Verum ne tum " quidem quidquam profecit. Homines Aulici " negotiis civilibus ita erant occupati et impe- " diti, ut ecclesiastica minus curarent: atque " irrita prorsus intercederunt pia Regis Bo- " russi consilia, unde tum ad religionem refor- " matam accederent stabilitatis suæ præsidia, " tum ad Ecclesiæ *Anglicanæ* nova dignitatis " amplificatæ ornamenta."

With the contents of this small but curious work, presented to Dr. Maclaine, I am not wholly unacquainted; but for the present shall take the Doctor's general account of it in his Advertisement. I can hardly suppose that the worthy descendants of the pious and learned Archbishop Sharp would think, at this time of the day, of deriving any honour to their truly respectable ancestor, from the circumstance of his having more weight with the ministry of those three years than Archbishop Tenison, whose praise it is that he had so little with them. And if Archbishop Sharp was really a favourite with them, one may venture to say the scheme did not drop for want of the attention of the ministers; for no set of men that ever were in their stations, were more bent upon amplifying the dignity of the church of England; hardly excepting Archbishop Laud's lay coadjutors.

If one might hazard a conjecture, I should rather think, the project went on to the last, and was only defeated in the end, by the death of Queen Anne, the King of Prussia, and (if

his Grace really espoused it, with the countenance of the ministry) of Archbishop Sharp; who all went off within a very little space of time. I am apt to believe that some better information might be had from this little book on this head, than Dr. Richardson could meet with in the year 1743.

I have ascribed it to Dr. Maclaine's good fortune that this book was not put into his hands till his Supplement was printed off. Several circumstances induced me to think so. It might have been expected of him that he should embellish this project with suitable colourings, as he hath done that of Archbishop Wake; and he might have taken his comments upon trust from such worthy and learned divines as the Letter-writer, and the continuator of Godwin, who would think they had no occasion to inform him, that it was the amplifying project of such men as Atterbury, Bolingbroke, and others of that stamp, for purposes of which I am willing to believe the good Archbishop Sharp was not aware.

Nor perhaps would it have been easy for Dr. Maclaine to have come at any satisfactory account of the occasion or views of exhibiting so singular a composition at the period when it was prepared. The world has been apprized for some time, that there is in being a manuscript life of Archbishop Sharp, ready for the press, composed by his learned and excellent son, the late Archdeacon of Northumberland, of which these memoirs certainly make a part. Why are they thus detached from the rest of

the history? What circumstance is it which makes it unseasonable or inconvenient to publish the whole work, which did not incumber this morsel of it, when it broke from the rest? and was there any, and what, necessity to send this piece abroad as an *avant courier*, to make way for something which was to follow?

If my information is right, this little piece was in print some time before the late Archbishop Secker's decease, who had several copies of it in his possession, few of which were seen or known of till he was gone; nor was the public in general aware of the existence of such a composition, till Dr. Maclaine announced it at the end of his Supplement. The Doctor indeed calls it a publication. But I cannot learn that it hath even yet undergone any of the formalities requisite to place it under that denomination.

May one venture another conjecture? All the world knows that a project has been often mentioned of late, of episcopizing our American colonies. Several sums have been bequeathed to be applied towards the accomplishment of it. The Letter-writer hath dropped, in passing, a slight *ichnography* of the plan, and is pretty large on the merits of it, towards the end of his pamphlet.

In Dr. Maclaine's Advertisement we are informed, that in this curious work there is, among other things, "an interesting plan of ecclesi-
"astical discipline and public worship, drawn
"up by the learned Dr. Jablonsky, and some
"other papers of the same author, concerning
"*the nature of episcopacy, and the manner of*

" *rendering it compatible with the interests of* " *the Sovereign, and the religious liberty of the* " *people.*"

Does not this look a little like a preparative for a new settlement of the same sort? I will not pretend to determine; and will only say, that if, in this *unpublished publication*, there is any appearance of a coincidence of the old plan with the new one, Dr. Maclaine was in high luck, in preventing the learned and worthy divines in this country of his acquaintance, from putting Jablonski upon him a second time.

The following note should be inserted in page 183, *after the words* by his own rules.

Dr. Calamy, in anſwer to Dr. Walker, who repreſented Dr. Sanderſon as having been ſeveral times plundered, and reduced to great poverty, and in a very pitiful condition in 1658, informs us, that "A certain worthy clergyman of the church of England (Mr. "Stephens, of Sutton in Bedfordſhire) gave him an account, that, "to his knowledge, the Doctor was far from being reduced to any "poverty in thoſe times; nor was he in a pitiful condition in 1658. "He lived, in as much plenty as the better ſort of clergy did, upon "his rectory, and maintained his children faſhionably. His living "was valued at 130 or 140 pounds *per ann.*; and he had money be-"ſides which did not lie dead. For though he did not put it out to "intereſt in the ordinary way, which *he had written againſt*, yet did "he diſpoſe of it in a way really more advantageous to the lender, "and ſometimes to the borrower. For he would give 100 pounds "for 20 pounds for ſeven years. This he thought lawful, but not "the common way, *which occaſioned reflections from ſeveral on his caſuiſtical ſkill.* This, he [Mr. Stephens] ſaid, was the com-"mon report; and one that was his agent in diſpoſing of the money "aſſured him of the truth of it." *The Church and the Diſſenters compared as to perſecution*, p. 78, ed. 1727. Would not one think there had been *Pſeudo-Waltons* in the laſt generation, as well as in this?

POSTSCRIPT.

WHILE the foregoing papers were at the Press, there fell in my way a book, intituled, *A short and safe Expedient for terminating the present debates about Subscription, occasioned by the Confessional,* wherein the right of private judgment is sufficiently vindicated, both by arguments, and authorities cited from several of the staunchest members of the church of England, to justify even stronger conclusions against the present modes of subscription than the author of the Confessional hath ventured to draw from his own premises. But this doth not at present concern me so much as the contents of a short section, beginning at p. 25. of this serious and important tract, intituled, *A word to the disputants on both sides of the Question*; where among other things, addressed by the author to the advocates for the cause of religious liberty, is the following passage:

" If, in too much complaisance to your an-
" tagonists, you turn aside to join issue with
" them in points that are little or nothing to
" the purpose, how much stir soever they may

" make about them, you will only remind us
" of *Atalanta's* stopping to pick up the gol-
" den apples, designedly thrown in her way
" to retard her course; and her ill success in
" so doing will only give you the cold com-
" fort to foresee, that your own success, in
" the end, will be no better, and, instead of
" strengthening, you will weaken your own
" forces, and confirm those of your adversa-
" ries."

If this be the case, thought I, how idly must I have been employed in following the Letter-writer through his detail of remarks on the Preface, &c. which, if they were ever so well grounded, would not affect the author of the Confessional as an historian not sufficiently exact or impartial in his account of facts, or sufficiently accurate in his reflections upon them, without the least ill effect upon the cause he pleads! Indeed the Letter-writer himself seems to have had the same apprehension, when he announced, at the end of his first pamphlet, his farther operations on the body of the book; conscious, it may well be supposed, that but few of his readers would be so far biassed by his abusive strictures, as to take his bare word, that the argumentative part of the Confessional would fall of course, with the personal estimation of the author.

It may be said (I think the Letter-writer himself hath somewhere said it) that he was led into this invidious part of his task, by the contents of the Preface on which he remarks; in other words, led into it by the author himself. ——That indeed he was *led* into this under-

taking, I have little doubt ; but am apt to believe it was more at his own option, whether he should be led into it by the author of the Confessional or not, than whether he should be led into it by another sort of influence.

Be all this as it may : if by saying, the adversaries of the Confessional were led to make so much stir about these bye-matters by the author himself, it is meant that he should have dwelt less upon them, I must confess I am of another mind.

It should be considered, that many fruitless attempts having been made to induce the governors in church and state to review our public forms of doctrine, discipline, and worship, in order to such corrections as might seem more consonant to the original principles of the protestant reformation : it became quite necessary upon any new effort of the same tendency, to shew what iniquitous measures had formerly been made use of, to stifle all approaches towards a farther reform, and to expose the duplicity of the stiflers (several of whom, by the way, occasionally espoused, as the worthy author of the Expedient hath proved by authentic citations from their works, the same principles with the author of the Confessional) when their conduct came to be compared with their professions ; and to remind those whom it may concern, of the impropriety of following these wretched examples, at a period when we value ourselves on the encouragement given to freedom of examination, and when learned, judicious, and ingenuous men of all ranks and denominations appear to be heartily ashamed

of the illiberal and selfish considerations, which influenced their narrow minded predecessors to adhere with obstinacy to so many unedifying restraints upon christian liberty.

To counteract the impressions that so plain a state of this affecting case might make upon the readers of the Confessional, and to obviate the inferences that every man of common sense would naturally draw from it, arose the Letter-writer and some others of the like complexion, partly to defend, and partly to palliate, the persecutions of the Whitgifts and Bancrofts, and even of the Lauds and the Sheldons of former times; and, by ascribing to dissenters in every period of our history the worst principles, and the worst designs, to terrify the present generation from the remotest endeavours to depart an hair's breadth from the present establishment.

And here begins my apology. It is true, these partial whitewashings on the one hand, and malevolent suggestions on the other, are nothing to the purpose, when set beside the principles on which it is reasonable to solicit a reformation; but greatly to the purpose with those who measure orthodoxy and heresy merely by established forms. And through all the canting pretensions of the Letter-writer to moderation and charity, it is easy to perceive his purpose is to hold up the authority of human establishments, as the sole standard of public judgment in matters of religion.

To expose therefore the futility, the sophistry, the misrepresentation, the hypocrisy, and falsehood of such writers, must contribute to

the success of the advocates of religious liberty, at least in my apprehensions, and if I rightly understand what the respectable author of the Expedient means by success; which, in my idea, is neither more or less, than opening a way to an effectual removal of our ecclesiastical improprieties and incumbrances, which must ever remain where they are, and as they are, while the prejudices against reformation instilled into the public mind by such solemn dictators as our Letter-writer are suffered to take their course without opposition. For who, that is persuaded by such accounts as this man gives, that a reformation in our church establishment was never proposed, but either by her false friends or her declared enemies; nor even obstructed but by the wisest and most upright of mankind;—who, I say, that is thus persuaded, will be at the pains to study the controversy for a sort of satisfaction which they can come at with so much less trouble and expence of thought?

If, by the word *success*, the worthy author of the *Expedient* means a decisive superiority of argument in debating the important question upon the original principles of the protestant, or rather of the christian religion, let him be in no pain that the forces of his friends are weakened by such deviations from the merits of the cause as some of us inferior penmen occasionally pursue. Let him look only to that eminent hand by which his own valuable *Expedient* was ushered into the world. *The Vindication of the Confessional, on the case of Subscription to human Articles* of Faith, is now

completed, by the publication of the third part of the learned, accurate, and judicious Dr. BENJAMIN DAWSON's Answer to *Letters concerning established Confessions*, which, added to his former advantages gained in the course of this controversy, hath deprived three or four of the capital sophisters in the nation of every subterfuge wherein to shelter their naked and baffled cause.

FINIS.

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